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THIS PRELIMINARY EDITION COMPRISES A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF INDONESIAN (BAHASA INDONESIA), THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA. THE THREE SECTIONS--PHONOLOGY, SYNTAX, AND MORPHOLOGY--PRESENT A COMPREHENSIVE LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF INDONESIAN, WITH OCCASIONAL CONTRASTIVE REFERENCE TO MALAY, JAVANESE, SUNDANESE, AND SUMATRAN. THIS STUDY IS APPROPRIATE AS A REFERENCE GRAMMAR FOR LINGUISTS, RATHER THAN FOR NON-LINGUISTICALLY ORIENTED STUDENTS OF THE LANGUAGE. (AMM)

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Isidore Dyen

Yale University

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Introduction

Indonesian or Bahasa Indonesia is the official language of the Republic of Indonesia. It is one of the standard dialects of the Malay language, the other being the one used in Malaya, usually called Malay, but referred to here as Peninsular Malay. These two standard dialects differ from each other and from the various dialects of Malay--called native Malay--spoken as a first language on the Malay Peninsula, eastern Sumatra, coastal Borneo, Djakarta and Ambon, and other parts of the Indonesian Archipelago.

Most Indonesians (citizens of the Republic of Indonesia) speak some language other than Malay as their first language. The best known among these languages are Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, Madurese, Minangkabau, Batak, and Achinese. But there are many others. There are some families, but relatively very few, in which Indonesian, as distinguished from native Malay, is the only or dominant language between members.

Since Indonesian is generally not the first language of an Indonesian citizen, the different typical ways of speaking Indonesian tend to reflect characteristics of the first language of the speakers. These differences resemble dialectal differences for all practical purposes, but are found in the speech of the most highly educated and most prominent people as well as pervasively at all levels. These differences appear most prominently in the pronunciation, but in some respects also in the grammar and in the choice of words. For this reason it is difficult to imagine a description of Indonesian today which does not here and there refer to differences which characterize speakers of Javanese, or speakers of Sundanese, or speakers of these two languages against those of others.

The treatment of Indonesian phonology is based on contact with many speakers of the language who originated in the main from either Java or Sumatra. The treatment of Indonesian grammar is based chiefly on evidence acquired in general contacts with speakers of Indonesian, from textual analysis of large parts of Muhammud Radjab, Tjatatan diSumatera (Djakarta 1949), referred to by the abbreviation Radjab, and from W.J.S. Poerwadarminta 'Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia' (Djakarta 1952) which is referred to where necessary by the abbreviation P.

I. PHONOLOGY

Phonemes

1. The phonemes of Indonesian are /i é è e a u ó o p b m f w t d n l r s c ǰ ñ š j k g ŋ x q̣ h/.

Vowels

2. The vowels are /i é è e a u ó o/.

3. /i/ is [i], a high front vowel. It is higher and more front than the vowel of English *pin* and sounds like the first part of the *ee* of English *feel*: /pipi/ 'cheek'. It is very much like the first vowel of Spanish *digo* 'I say'.

4. /é/ is [e], a high mid front vowel. It is higher than the vowel of English *met* and is like the first part of the vowel of English pail: /médan/ 'field'. It is like the vowel of French *né* 'born', but generally not quite so high or tense.

5. /è/ is [ɛ], a lower mid front vowel about like or lower than the vowel of English *met*: /mèmang/ 'in fact, to be sure'. For some speakers it is a low as the vowel of French *fête*.

6. /e/ is [ə], a mid central vowel wherever it constitutes a peak of sonority and is then like the first vowel in (the midwestern pronunciation of) English select. The sequences with preconsonantal or prepausal /l m n r s/, i.e. [əl əm ən ər əs] in deliberate speech vary freely with [ḷ ṃ ṇ ṛ ṣ] in rapid speech: kerǰa [kərǰa, kṛǰa] 'work', /pilem/ [piləm, pilṃ] 'film'. Likewise a prevocalic sequence consisting of two different single consonants separated by e in slow speech varies freely with a rapid speech sequence in which the first consonant is merely released: /belum/ [bəlum, b⌜lum] 'not yet'. If the two consonants of the sequence are alike, the rapid speech form sometimes has a long consonant: /lelah/ [ləlʌh, llʌh] 'tired'. If the first of the two consonants is one of the set /l r s/, the deliberate sequences [lə rə sə] vary freely with the rapid [ḷ ṛ ṣ]: /lemari/ [ləmari, ḷmari] 'wardrobe,

cupboard', /rebah/ [rəbɑh, r̩bɑh] 'fallen', /sepatu/ [səpatu, s̩patu] 'shoe'.

7. /a/ is in most positions [a>, a], a low vowel more front than the vowel of American English *pot*, and sometimes as high and as far front as the vowel of French *chat*. It is lower and less front when it is the last vowel than otherwise: /lapar/ [lapa r] 'hungry'. It is usually [ɑ], a low central vowel like American *pot*, when next to one of the set /w k g ŋ x q h/ and [ɑ>], a low back vowel, when it is between two members of that set: /garam/ [gɑra>m] 'salt', /bagi/ [bɑgi] 'divide' /bawaŋ/ [bɑwɑ>ŋ] 'onion'.

8. /u/ is [u], a high back rounded vowel. It is like the first part of the *oo* of English *cool*: /buku/ 'book'. It is very much like the first vowel of Spanish *mucho.*

9. /ó/ is [o], a higher mid back rounded vowel. It is like the (rounded) first part of the vowel in American English sole: /tókó/ 'store'. It is like, but not quite as high or tense as, the vowel of French *peau*.

10. /o/ is [ɔ], a lower mid back rounded vowel. It is like the first part of the vowels of American English words *boy* (before the y) and *ball*: /kotor/ 'dirty'. It is like the vowel of French *port*.

Additional Notes on the Vowels

11. A vowel is nasalized after a nasal: /mana/ [mãnã] 'where', /sama/ [samã] 'same'. In some dialects of Malay nasalized vowels perhaps occur in contrastive distribution with non-nasalized vowels as in Peninsular Malay: e.g. Peninsular Malay /dõqẽ/ for /doqa/ 'prayer'. [Peninsular Malay regularly has /e/ for final /a/ in Indonesian; /mata/ 'eye' is /mate/ in Peninsular Malay.]

12. Many Sundanese speakers do not distinuish between /é/ and /è/ or between /ó/ and /o/. Instead they have only /é/, which is [E], about like the vowel in English *met*, and only /o/ which is [ω], about midway between [o] and [ɔ], something like the first vowel in American English *gonna do it*.

13. The /i e u ə/ of Javanese speakers are tenser than for most other Indonesians. Furthermore all of the vowels other than /a/ are higher and tenser after a "voiced" (see below) consonant (/b d ǰ g/) than elsewhere and /a/ is more front, as well as tenser and higher after one of these consonants.

Consonants

14. The consonants are /p b m f w t d n l r s c ǰ ñ v̌ j k g ŋ x q h/.

15. /p/ is a bilabial fortis stop. It is usually unaspirated and thus resembles the p of English pot without its aspiration. More commonly it resembles the first consonant of French porte 'door': /papan/ 'board'. /p/ is generally unreleased when before pause or another consonant: asap 'smoke'.

16. /b/ is a bilabial voiced lenis stop like the b of English bat: /babi/ 'pig'.

17. /m/ is a bilabial nasal stop like the m of English mat: /mana/ 'where'.

18. /f/ is a labiodental spirant like the f of English foot:

/filem/ 'film'.

19. /t/ is an apical fortis stop. It is usually unaspirated and the contact of the tip of the tongue is usually postdental or gingival: /tapi/ 'but'. It thus most commonly resembles the t of English tap without its aspiration. It is generally unreleased when before pause or another consonant: /amat/ 'very'.

20. /d/ is an apical voiced lenis stop like the d of English dog. Contact of the tip of the tongue is usually postdental or gingival: /dadu/ 'dice'.

21. /n/ is an apical nasal stop like the n of English net. Contact of the tip of the tongue is usually postdental or gingival: /nama/ 'name'.

22. /l/ is for most speakers of Indonesian a clear lateral. It resembles the pronunciation by some speakers of the ll in William, million. It is like the l in French lait: /lalu/ 'then'. For speakers of Malay a final /l/ is sometimes slightly velarized: /kapal/ 'ship'.

23. /r/ is a tongue-tip tap or trill like the *r* of Spanish *pero* 'but' or the *rr* of Spanish *perro* 'dog': /dari/ 'from'. It is a voiced velar spirant [ ] in many dialects of Peninsular and Sumatran Malay and for Padang in Sumatra.

24. /s/ is an apical grooved voiceless spirant like the *s* of English *sing*: /sapa/ 'sweep'.

25. /z/ is an apical grooved voiced spirant like the *z* of English *zeal*: /izin/ 'permit'.

26. /c/ is a frontal voiceless fortis stop: /cucu/ 'grandson'. Contact is made between the blade of the tongue and the alveolar ridge. For non-Javanese speakers the release is sometimes quite sibilant, giving the effect of an affricate with [s] release; but often it is barely noticeable, if at all. For many Javanese speakers /c/ is [ts], an alveolar affricate with s-release.

27. /ǰ/ is a frontal voiced lenis stop: /ǰadi/ 'so, consequently'. Contact is made between the blade of the tongue and the alveolar ridge.

For non-Javanese speakers the release is sometimes quite sibilant, giving the effect of an affricate with [ž] release, but is often barely noticeable, if at all. The release is less frequently sibilant than is the case for /c/. For many Jananese speakers /ǰ/ is [dz], an alveolar affricate with [z] release.

28. /ñ/ is a frontal nasal stop. Contact is made between the blade of the tongue and the alveolar ridge: /meñañai/ 'sing'.

29. /š/ is a frontal grooved spirant like the first consonant of Polish sie 'self': /šair/ 'a kind of poem'.

30. /j/ is a front semivowel with palatal articulation and i-color like the y in English yard: /saja/ 'I', /jakin/ 'believe firmly', /sampaj/ 'arrive'.

31. /k/ is a voiceless fortis velar stop. It is generally unaspirated and is thus usually like the k or English kit without its aspiration. It is usually like the c of Spanish cola 'tail'.

It is somewhat farther front before front vowels and somewhat farther back before back vowels: /kaki/ 'foot', /kikir/ 'file', /kuku/ 'fingernail'. It is generally unreleased when before pause or another consonant: /bèk/ 'back (player)'.

32. /g/ is a voiced lenis velar stop like g of English good. It is somewhat farther front before front vowels and somewhat farther back before back vowels: /gigi/ 'tooth', /garam/ 'salt', /gusi/ 'gum'.

33. /ŋ/ is a nasal velar stop like the ng of English sing: /laŋit/ 'sky', /baraŋ/ 'thing', /ŋaŋa/ 'open [of mouth]'.

34. /x/ is a voiceless velar spirant. It is like the ch of German ach. It is somewhat farther front before front vowels and somewhat farther back before back vowels: /xusus/ 'special', /axir/ 'end'.

35. /w/ is a back semivowel with a front coarticulation. For Sumatrans the front coarticulation is generally bilabial rounding

like that of the w of English weep. If a non-final /w/ is initial, or non-initial after other than a rounded vowel, many Javans have a labiodental coarticulation instead of bilabial rounding: /wakil/ 'representative', /kawan/ 'friend', /kerbaw/ 'water-buffalo'.

36. /q/ is the glottal stop: /dóqa/ 'prayer', /raqjat/ 'people'. It is generally unreleased when final: /kataq/ 'frog'.

37. /h/ is a voiceless vowel with the color of a neighboring vowel like that of English hat: /hawa/ 'atmosphere, climate', /dahan/ 'branch', /marah/ 'angry'. In rapid speech it is often murmured between vowels instead of being voiceless: /jahat/ 'bad, wicked'.

Additional Notes on Consonants

38. The pronunciation of the stops /b d ǰ g/ by Javanese speakers is different from that indicated above in many positions. In Javanese there are prenasalized phonemes which we will symbolize here as $/{}^{m}b\ {}^{n}d\ {}^{n}\check{j}\ {}^{\text{ŋ}}g/$ which phonetically resemble Indonesian /mb nd ñǰ ŋg/.

Thus for one of these sequences within a word the pronunciation of a Javanese will appear to be about the same as that of any other Indonesian.

39. However when a voiced stop appears in any other position the pronunciation by many Javanese speakers is noticeably different. Instead of a voiced stop they have a voiceless stop not essentially different from their pronunciation of /p t c k/, but the following vowel is murmured. Thus /gali/ 'dig' and /kali/ 'river' differ in the speech of Javanese by virtue of the fact that in the first word the a is murmured: thus (with an underline to indicate murmuring) [ka̲li] versus [kali]. [A murmured vowel sounds hoarse and dull, and is generally on a lower pitch than a non-murmured vowel. By contrast the non-murmured vowel after /p t c k/ is clear, bright and generally high-pitched.]

Systematic Phonemic Correspondences in Speakers of Different Origins

40. Many speakers of Javanese and Malay regularly have /é/ and /ó/ respectively instead of /i/ and /u/ before a final consonant as pronounced by many speakers of Sundanese. Thus the /pikir/ 'think' of a Sundanese and others will appear as /pikér/ in the speech of a Javanese or Malay; and similarly /seratus/ 'one hundred' will appear as /seratós/.

41. Many Batak and Javanese speakers have /ow/ and /èj/ respectively for /aw/ and /aj/ in the speech of other Sumatrans: thus /hiǰow/ for /hijaw/ 'green' and /sampèj/ for /sampaj/ 'reach'. Still others, mainly Javanese, have /ó/ and /é/: /hijó/ 'green', /sampé/ 'reach'.

42. Many Javans have (e) in certain words for the /a/ before a final consonant in the speech of others: e.g. /malem/ 'night', /seneŋ/ 'satisfied' respectively for the /malam/, /senaŋ/ of others.

43. Speakers of Sundanese have a glottal stop before pause where others pronounce a final vowel. Thus /kota/ 'city' is by many Sundanese speakers given as /kotaq/ in isolation. [This glottal stop does not appear before another word: /kota bandung/ 'the city of Bandung'.] This pronunciation is indistinguishable from that for /kotaq/ 'box, carton' given by many speakers of Javanese and by Sumatrans.

44. Furthermore, speakers of Sundanese regularly have final /k/ where others have /q/. Thus most Sundanese say /kotak/ 'box' whereas most other speakers say /kotaq/. However I have heard some speakers of Javanese who normally say /kotaq/ say /kotak/ because in most of the cases concerned the standard orthography has k: e.g. kotak 'box'.

45. In the speech of most Sundanese speakers /b d/ occur in final position in certain words which appear with final b, d in the orthography: /sebab/ 'because', /abad/ 'century'. In the speech of most other speakers final voiced non-nasal stops do not occur. For these speakers the words above appear as /sebap/ and /abat/ respectively.

Intonations

46. The intonemes (or intonational phonemes) are two stresses (or degrees of stress ´,`), four pitch levels (1, 2, 3, 4), a glisse (or maintaining glissando, -), and three fades (or diminuendo glissandos) (↓, ↑, →).

47. The two stresses are primary (´) and secondary (`):

/baik rumah itu saja beli/

/ 1́ 2̀ 2 → 1 2́1↓/	'That house is good; I'll buy it.'
/ 2́ 1↓ 1 2̀↑ 1 2́1↓/	'All right, I'll buy that house.'
/ 2́ 1↓ 1 2́↑ 1 2́1↓/	'All right, (if) it's that house, I'll buy it.'

48. The pitches are generally mutually substitutable except for the limitations in contours (see below). However even when the pitches are mutually substitutable, the relatively higher ones indicate a greater interest on the part of the speaker. Consequently, pitch differences

are distinctive. For example:

/apa itu/ 'What's that?'

/3́ 2 1 1↑/

/3́ 2 1 2↑/

/3́ 2 1 3↑/

/3́ 2 1 4↑/

49. A glisse is a glissando connection between two pitches occurring on the same vowel:

/itu/

/1-2 2↑/ 'Is it that?'

/2-1 1↑/ 'It's that'.

50. A glisse complex consists of two pitches connected by a glisse. A glisse complex differs from two pitches on the same vowel, the latter being indicated by juxtaposed numbers: e.g. 21. Excessive length on one vowel is noted as a glisse between pitches of the same height:

/itu/

/1-1 2↑/

51. A fade is a weakening (diminuendo) glissando. A fade is rising (↑), falling (↓), or level (⟶) according to the direction of its glissando:

/i t u/	
/1́ 2↑/	'Is it that?'
/2́ 1↓/	'It's that.'
/3́ 2̀→/	'It's that.' (amiably)

52. An intoneme sequence with a meaning is a *contour*.

53. A fade contour is one that ends in a fade. Other contours are non-fade contours.

54. An utterance that ends in a fade contour is *normal*. An utterance that ends in a non-fade contour is *interrupted*.

55. The fade contours are: (1) suspended, (2) continuative, (3) assertive, (4) urgent [with the subdivisions (a) normal and (b) pressing], (5) inquiring [with the subdivisions (a) normal and (b) pressing], (6) polite, (7) calling, (8) amiable.

56. The suspended contour has a level fade. The preceding simple contour can have any direction. The meaning is that another syntactically associated utterance will follow.

/i t u/

/1 2́→/

/1 2̀→/

57. The fade of the suspended contour is freely glottalized.

58. The continuative contour has a rising fade. The preceding simple contour can have any direction. The meaning is that another syntactically associated utterance will follow to which the preceding utterance is a prior sequence.

/i t u/

/1 2̀↑/

59. An utterance that ends in a suspended or continuative contour is incomplete. A complete utterance ends in one of the remaining

contours and has a primary stress.

60. The assertive contour consists of a falling fade from pitch 1:

/buku itu biru/ 'That book is blue.'

/1 2̀ 2́ 1↓/

/biru buku itu/ 'That book is blue.'

/2́ 1 ↓/

61. The urgent contour is a falling fade from a pitch higher than 1. Urgent contours vary in speaker's interest with the height of the pitch before the fade. There are two subdivisions according to the place of the primary stress:

(a) normal: e.g.

/buku itu biru/

/1 2̀ 3́ 2̀↓/

(b) pressing: e.g.

/buku itu biru/

/1 2̀ 3̀ 2́↓/

62. The inquiring contour has a rising fade. There are two subdivisions,

(a) normal and (b) pressing. In the normal inquiring contour the pitch preceding the fade is unstressed or secondary stressed and is lower than the preceding pitch except when that is 1. A pitch before the fade is always unstressed if it follows a lower pitch: e.g.

/itu amat/ 'Is that Amat?'

/1 2̀ 1́ 1↑/

/1 2̀ 1́ 1̀↑/

/1 2̀ 2́ 1̀↑/

/1 2̀ 1́ 2↑/

63. In the pressing inquiring contour the pitch before the fade has the primary stress and is higher than the preceding stress except when that is 1. In the latter case the pitch before the fade is 1:

/itu amat/ 'Is that Amat?'

/1 2 1̀ 1́↑/

/1 2 2̀ 1́↑/

64. The polite contour has a rising fade from a pitch with a secondary stress:

/ itu amat /	'Is it that, Amat?'
/ 2́ 1 1̀ 1 ↑/	
/ 2́ 1 1̀ 1̀ ↑/	

Contrast this with:

/ itu amat /	'Is that Amat?'
/ 2́ 1 ↑/	

65. The amiable contour has a level fade after a falling sequence. It is characteristic of Sundanese speakers:

/ dia ke mana /	'Where is he going?'
/ 12̀ 1 3́ 2̀→ /	
/ dia di situ /	'He's there.'
/ 12̀ 1 3́ 2̀→ /	

66. The calling contour has a level fade:

/ amat /

/ 3́ 2́→ /

Conventions

67. A suspended contour is indicated by (--) and a continuative contour by a slash (/). Furthermore since most sentences appear with any final contour, it is convenient to restrict the indication of final contours to the common ones and the following symbols will be used:

assertive	.
normal inquiring	?
urgent	!

The word with the main stress (´) will be indicated by an underline where it is important.

68. The restriction on the combination of sentences with intonations applies to sentences with an imperative predicator as the head of a principal clause; such sentences do not combine with inquiring intonations.

Distributions of Phonemes

69. Only a single nonsyllabic occurs in final or initial position. [Although for example the pronunciation /baŋk/ 'bank' is found for the more common /baŋ/, the former is found only in the speech of Dutch-speakers and is treated as an instance of interlarding.]

70. No more than two consonants cluster in intervocalic position. Vowel clusters occur: /ǰauh/ 'far', /kemauan/ 'desire'. Vowels occur both as initials and finals: /ada/ 'exist'.

71. A syllable is therefore regarded as having the canonical structure (C)V(C). A closed syllable is one that ends in a consonant. An open syllable is one that ends in a vowel. In a sequence of syllables a single intervocalic consonant is assigned to the same syllable as the following vowel. If a vowel is stressed in a syllable beginning with C that C is tenser and more prominent than elsewhere.

72. Any nonsyllabic can occur as an initial.

73. After a nonsyllabic, [q] varies freely with smooth transition (indicated here by hyphen) from a lax nonsyllabic to a vowel: [tempat qabu, tempat-abu] 'ash-tray'. [These contrast with transition from a non-lax nonsyllabic to a vowel: cf. /tabutabu/ 'tabooed things' and /meŋisikan/ 'fill' with /meŋiris-ikan/ 'slice fish'.] By convention /q/ for [q] is never indicated in these conditions and hyphen is employed instead for the transition, provided that space is not employed. [A vowel following a nasal consonant but separated from it by hyphen or space is not nasalized.]

74. Voiced non-nasal stops occur as syllabic final only in the speech of Sundanese: e.g. /sebab/ 'because'. In the speech of most Indonesians voiced non-nasal stops do not occur: e.g. /sebap/ 'because'.

75. Frontal consonants do not occur in final position. Only /ñ/ and /š/ occur in preconsonantal position: /pañǰaŋ/ 'long', /termašhur/ 'famous'.

76. The most common intramorphemic clusters are (1) a sequence of nasal followed by a stop in the same articulatory position and (2) ŋs. These clusters are exemplified as follows:

mp:	/kampuŋ/	'neighborhood'
mb:	/kambiŋ/	'goat'
nt:	/mintaq/	'request'
nd:	/denda/	'fine'
ñc:	/lañcar/	'fluent'
ñǰ:	/pañǰaŋ/	'long'
ŋk:	/taŋkaj/	'stalk'
ŋg:	/taŋga/	'ladder'
ŋs:	/baŋsa/	'national group, race'

77. /š/ occurs as syllabic final in /termašhur/ 'famous', but is not known to occur as a final before pause. Similarly /x/ occurs as intramorphemic as well as ambimorphemic.

78. Otherwise a cluster, can consist in principle of any initial and any permissible final. The following are examples:

/mz/:	/hamzah/	'the Arabic letter hamzah'
/ft/:	/daftar/	'list'

/tb/:	/xotbah/	'sermon'
/tm/:	/batminton/	'badminton'
/lǰ/:	/salǰu/	'snow'
/lj/:	/biljar/	'billiards'
/ll/:	/allah/	'Allah'
/rc/:	/karcis/	'ticket'
/rt/:	/kartu/	'card'
/rl/:	/arloǰi/	'watch'
/rs/:	/arsip/	'archive'
/sm/:	/djasmani/	'spiritual'
/st/:	/pasti/	'definite, certain'
/sk/:	/bioskop/	'movie'
/ks/:	/raksasa/	'giant'

/qw/:	/daqwa/	'accusation'
/qj/:	/raqjat/	'people'
/hl/:	/ahli/	'expert'
/hw/:	/bahwa/	'that (quotative)'
/xt/:	/ixtijar/	'freedom of choice, means'

Alternations

79. Phonemic sequences with the same meaning are alternants of each other and are said to alternate. The symbol used for alternation is ~. Thus /qada/ will be said to alternate with /ada/ or /qada/ ~ /ada/. Very often however it proves convenient to speak of such an alternation in terms of the difference between two sequences. This is a simple abbreviation; in the case above we can say that /q/ ~ /∅/.

80. A /q/ in initial position after consonants or between the vowels e-a, a-a, i-i varies freely with its absence in speech: /qada/, /ada/ 'exist', /qalatqalat/, /alat-alat/, /qalat-alat/, /alat-qalat/, 'instruments', /pekerǰaqan, /pekerǰaan/ 'job', /keqadaqan/, /keadaan/, /keqadaan/, /keadaqan/, 'state, condition', /diqikat/, /diikat/, 'be tied'. The presence of the glottal stop in such cases is associated with clarity. [Clarity is regarded as a semantic element.]

81. Between i, u and a different vowel /q/ varies with /j/ and /w/ respectively with the same association with clarity: /diqadakan/ 'be provided, held', /diqucapkan/ 'be uttered'; /dijadakan/, /dijucapkan/.

82. The sequence /uw/ before a non-final vowel is commonly the deliberate alternant of the fast /w/: e.g. deliberate /dibuwatña/, fast /dibewatña/ 'is made by him'. Similarly, the sequence /ij/ before a non-final vowel is commonly the deliberate alternant of the fast /j/: e.g. deliberate /dibijarkan/, fast /dibejarkan/ 'be permitted'. The /e/ in these sequences represents the simple release of the preceding consonant, though it is the writer's impression that occasionally at certain rates of

speed a [ə] quality is noticeable.

83. Many Javanese and Malay speakers have /é/ and /ó/ before a final consonant where others have /i/ and /u/ respectively. For Javanese speakers there is a regular alternation between this /é/ and /i/ before the vowel of a suffix: /sakét/ 'ill' (cf. /sakit/ of others and the standard sakit) and /kesakitan/ 'fall sick with'. Similarly there is a regular alternation between this /ó/ and /u/ before the vowel of a suffix: /merebós/ 'boil' (cf. /merebus/ of others and merebus in the standard orthography) and /rebusan/ 'a boiled thing'. For speakers of Malay on the other hand the vowel does not alternate. The following consonant appears however to be somewhat longer than elsewhere giving the effect of /rebóssan/, /kesakéttan/.

84. For Javanese speakers a sequence ending is a consonant in other positions lacks that consonant before a sequence beginning with the same consonant: e.g. /makan/ 'eat' followed by /nasiq/ 'rice' is /makanasiq/ 'eat rice' (cf. the /makannasiq/ of others); /membalas/

'reply' followed by /surat/ 'letter' is /membalasurat/ 'answer a letter' (cf. the /membalassurat/ of others).

85. For some Javanese speakers an alternant with final /h/ in other positions has an alternant lacking /h/ before the vowel of a suffix which differs from the vowel before /h/: /latijan/ 'exercise' for the /latihan/ of others. Such speakers generally have /ó/ and /é/ before a final consonant; thus they also are likely to have /melatéh/ 'exercise' for the /melatih/ of others. On the other hand, cf. /kemarahan/ 'be the object of anger' and /marah/ 'anger', where the vowel before the /h/ and that of the suffix are the same.

86. For many speakers who have a final /q/ where others (among whom are to be counted most Sundanese speakers) have final /k/, there is an alternation between /q/ in other positions and /k/ before the vowel of a suffix: /masóq/ 'enter' (such speakers generally have /ó/ before a final consonant; cf. /masuk/ for Sundanese speakers) and /dimasuki/ 'be entered'; /masaq/ 'cook' (cf. /masak/ for Sundanese speakers) and /masakan/ 'cooking'.

87. A number of different morphemes have the shape of a doubling of an alternant of a morpheme: e.g. /rumah/ 'house, houses' /rumah-rumah/ 'houses'; /makan/ 'eat', /makanmakan/ 'eat on, eat repeatedly'. These morphemes are indicated by |D| or (in the chapter on Morphology) by D. In general |D| is regarded as a prefix except where this proves inconvenient. There is also a prefixal morpheme that has the shape of a reduplication of the initial consonant followed by /e/: e.g. kekasih 'lover' (kasih 'love'). This prefix is indicated by |r| or (in the morphology) by r-.

88. A number of different morphemes have the shape of a partial doubling of an alternant of a morpheme: e.g. /kutaq/ 'shake hard', /kutaqkatiq/ 'to shake hard in various ways.' Such morphemes are indicated |Dis| or (in the chapter on Morphology) by Dis and are referred as 'distortions' or 'distortion morphemes'.

89. The element |an|, which appears as a part of many affixes (cf. Morphology passim), has an alternant with initial /q/ if the preceding ends in a: /kerǰa/ 'work' and /pekerǰaqan/ 'job'.

90. The |N| of the prefixes |meN| and |peN| (including |peN| as part of the circumfix |peN-+-an|) represents an alternation according to the initial that the succeeding base has in positions other than after these prefixes. Whenever there is an alternant of the base that appears elsewhere than after one of these prefixes, that alternant is called an independent base alternant and its initial is the independent base initial.

91. The base alternant after one of the prefixes ending in |N| is the same as independent base alternant unless the latter begins with (1) /q/ or (2) /p/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /s/, or /š/. If the initial is /q/, the dependent base alternant (i.e. the one following the prefix) lacks the /q/. If the initial of the independent base alternant is /p/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /s/, or /š/, then in most cases of initial /p/, /t/, /k/, or /s/ and in at least one case of /d/ or /š/, the

initial of the dependent base alternant is a nasal in place of (and thus alternates with) the independent base initial. A dependent base alternant that differs from an independent base alternant in this way is a nasal base alternant.

92. If the independent base initial is /p/, /t/, or /k/ (i.e. a voiceless stop other than /c/), the initial nasal of the nasal base has the same place of articulation as the base initial:

-/makaj/	(/dipakaj/ 'be used, worn')
-/nipu/	(/ditipu/ 'be deceived')
-/ŋirim/	(/dikirim/ 'be sent')

93. One independent base with initial /d/ has a nasal base alternant with initial /n/:

-/neŋar/	(/dideŋar/ 'be heard')

94. If the independent base initial is /s/, the initial nasal of the nasal base alternant is /ñ/:

-/ñapu/	(/iisapu/ 'be swept, wiped')

95. Two independent bases with initial /š/ have nasal base alternants with initial /ñ/:

-/ñairkan/	(/dišairkan/ 'be celebrated in a sjair')
-/ñukuri/	(/dišukuri/ 'be appreciated')

[Although /šair/ is the usual pronunciation, the pronunciation /sair/ is also reported. With the latter -/ñairkan/ would fall under the regular alternation of an independent base initial /s/.]

96. If the base alternant following the prefix (whether independent of dependent) is a nasal (/m n ñ ŋ/) or /l/, /r/, /j/, or /w/, the alternant of |N| is zero:

/memasuqkan/ 'introduce', /pemasukan/ 'introduction'
(/dimasuqkan/ 'be introduced')

/memakaj/ 'use, wear', /pemakaj/ 'user, wearer'
(/dipakaj/ 'be used, worn')

/menaiqkan/ 'raise', /penaikan/ 'raising'
(/dinaiqkan/ 'be raised')

/menipu/ 'deceive', /penipu/ 'deceiver'
(/ditipu/ 'be deceived')

/meñañi/ 'sing', /peñañi/ 'singer'
(/ñañijan/ 'song')

/meñapu/ 'sweep', /peñapu/ 'broom'
(/disapu/ 'be swept')

/meŋaŋakan/ 'open (mouth) wide'
(/diŋaŋakan/ 'be opened wide (of mouth)')

/meŋirim/ 'send', /peŋirim/ 'sender'
(/dikirim/ 'be sent')

/melaŋgar/ 'attack, collide with', /pelaŋgar/ 'attacker, collider'
(/dilaŋgar/ 'be attacked, struck in a collision')

/merampas/ 'rob', /perampas/ 'robber'
(/dirampas/ 'be robbed')

/mejakinkan/ 'strengthen belief'
(/dijakinkan/ 'be strengthened in one's belief')

/mewakili/ 'represent'
(/diwakili/ 'be represented')

97. If the base has an initial voiced stop (/b d ǰ g/), /c/, /š/, or /z/, the alternant of |N| has the same place of articulation as the base initial:

/membeli/ 'buy', /pembeli/ 'purchaser'
(/dibeli/ 'bought')

mendapat/ 'obtain', /pendapat/ 'discoverer'
(/didapat/ 'obtained')

/menziarahi/ 'ceremonial visit'
(/ziarah/ 'ceremonial visit')

/meñcabut/ 'pull out', /peñcabutan/ 'extraction'
(/dicabut/ 'be pulled out')

/meñǰamin/ 'guarantee', /penǰamin/ 'guarantor'
(/diǰamin/ 'be guaranteed')

/meñšaratkan/ 'set as a condition'
(/šarat/ 'condition')

/meŋganti/ 'replace', /peŋganti/ 'substitute'
(/diganti/ 'be replaced')

98. The single independent base with initial /d/ that has a nasal base alternant also appears unchanged after the alternant of |N|:

/meneŋar/, /mendeŋar/ 'hear', /pendeŋar/, /peneŋar/ 'hearer'
(/dideŋar/ 'be heard')

99. One of the independent bases with initial /š/ that has a nasal base alternant also appears unchanged after the alternant of |N|:

/meñukuri/, /meñšukuri/ 'appreciate'
(/dišukuri/ 'be appreciated')

100. The alternant of |N| is /ŋ/ if the independent base initial is /h/:

/meŋhargai/ 'esteem', /peŋhargaqan/ 'esteem'
(/harga/ 'price')

101. If the independent base initial is /q/, the alternant of |N| is /ŋ/ and the initial /q/ is lacking:

/meŋikat/ 'tie', /peŋikat/ 'tier'
(/diqikat/ 'be tied')

102. Before a few nonsyllabic independent bases with initial /c/ the prefix |meN| appears as /meŋe/:

/meŋecap/ 'seal, stamp, print', /peŋecapan/ 'printing establishment' (/cap/ 'seal, stamp')

/meŋesahkan/ 'declare valid, validate, legalize' /pengesahan/ 'validation' (/sah/ 'valid, legal')

Beside these however /meñcap/ 'seal, stamp, print', /mensahkan/ 'validate, legalize' (see 105) occur.

103. Bases with the prefix |peR| do not have a nasal base alternant and the nasal of the prefix appears with the same place of articulation as the following consonant:

/memperlihat/ 'show' (/diperlihatkan/ 'be shown')

104. A number of bases with an initial /p/, /t/, /k/, or /s/ do not have an initial nasal alternant. In such cases the prefix appears with a nasal with the same place of articulation as the base initial. The following instances have been collected from:

/p/ /memperkarakan/ 'bring to court' (/perkara/ 'matter')

/memperkosakan/ 'violate, rape' (/perkosa/ 'violent, violence')

/memperlahankan/ 'slow something down' (/perlahan/ 'slow')

/mempermak/ 'alter' (/dipermak/ 'be altered')

/mempermisikan/ 'ask to be excused' (/dipermisikan/ 'be asked to be excused')

/mempercajakan/ 'entruct' (/percaja/ 'believe')

/memperugul/ 'rape' (/diperugul/ 'be raped')

/mempopulérkan/ 'popularize' (/dipopulérkan/ 'be popularized')

/memporsetélkan/ 'propose' (/diporsetélkan/ 'be proposed')

/mempunjai/ 'own' (/dipunjai/ 'be owned')

/t/ /mentaksirkan/ 'neglect' (/taksir/ 'careless')

/mentaksiskan/ 'limit' (/taksis/ 'limitation')

/mentalak/ 'divorce (one's wife)' (/talak/ 'divorce (one's wife)')

/mentamsilkan/ 'give as an example' (/ditamsilkan/ 'be given as an example')

/mentasbihkan/ 'extol (God)' (/ditasbihkan/ 'be extolled (of God)')

/mentasdikkan/ 'declare valid' (/ditasdikkan/ 'be declared valid')

/mentašhidkan/ 'profess' (/ditašhidkan/ 'be professed')

/mentašrihkan/ 'explain, analyze' (/ditašrihkan/ 'be explained, analyzed')

/mentasrifkan/ 'decline, conjugate' (ditasrifkan/ 'be declined, conjugated')

/mentauhidkan/ 'unite, regard as one' (/ditauhidkan/ 'be united, regarded as one')

/mentaqwilkan/ 'interpret' (/ditaqwilkan/ 'be interpreted')

/mentaqzimkan/ 'honor' (/ditaqzimkan/ 'be honored')

/menterdjemahkan/ 'translate', /penterdjemah 'translator' (/diterdjemahkan/ 'be translated')

/mentermakkan/ 'raise animals' (/diternakkan/ 'be raised (of animals)')

/k/ /mengkilat/ (intransitive) 'shine', /mengkilatkan/ 'flash' (/kilat/ 'lightning, flash')

105. For a number of bases both forms are found (where convenient this will be indicated by parentheses around the consonant which is sometimes absent):

/mem(p)elopori/ 'lead the way' (/dipelopori/ 'be led')
/mem(p)ersekoti/ 'give an advance' (/dipersekoti/ 'be given as an advance')
/mem(p)erotés/ 'protest' (/diperotés/ 'be protested')
/men(t)aklukkan/ 'conquer' (/ditaklukkan/ 'be conquered')
/men(t)elaqah/ 'study, research' (/ditelaqah/ 'be studied')
/men(t)ertawakan/ 'ridicule' (/ditertawakan/ 're ridiculed')
/meng(k)omandokan/ 'give a command' (/dikomandokan/ 'be commanded')
/mensabarkan/, /menjabarkan/ 'endure patiently' (/disabarkan/ 'be endured patiently')

Similarly, beside /meŋesahkan/ there is the synonymous mensahkan 'validate, legalize'.

106. For some bases there is a difference in treatment according to the suffix:

/memercik/ 'spatter, sprinkle'

/memperciki/ 'sprinkle (something with)'

/mempercikkan/ 'sprinkle (e.g. water)'

/mem(p)usakai/ 'inherit, leave an interitance to'

/memusakan/ 'leave as inheritance'

107. If the prefixal elements |meN| and |peN| are associated with a doubling element |D| with a base with an independent base alternant with initial /q/, the /q/ is present in the doubling element:

/meŋalaŋqalaŋi/ 'hinder repeatedly' (/dijalaŋqalaŋi/ 'be hindered repeatedly')

108. If the prefixal elements |meN| and |peN| are associated with a doubling element D , with a nasal base alternant, the alternant of the doubling element imitates the nasal base alternant:

/memutarmutar/ 'turn repeatedly' (/diputarputar/ 'be turned repeatedly')

/menarinari/ 'dance repeatedly' (d/ditaritari/ 'be danced repeatedly')

/menebunebu/ 'make with jointed interstices' (/tebutebu/ 'jointed interstices')

/meŋuñahŋuñah/ 'chew repeatedly' (/dikuñahkuñah/ 'be chewed repeatedly')

/meñijañijakan/ 'regard as useless' (/sijasija/ 'useless')

109. So also when a distortion element |Dis| is involved:

/meŋutakŋatikkan/ 'shake hard' (/dikutakkatik/ 'be shaken hard')

/meŋucarŋacirkan/ 'scatter in disorder' (/dikucarkacirkan/ 'be scattered in disorder')

/meñelaŋñeliŋi/ 'interrupt continually' (/diselaŋseliŋi/ 'be interrupted continually')

but:

/memporakperandakan/ 'scatter in disorder' (/diporakperandakan/ 'be scattered in disorder')

110. The prefixal element |beR| generally appears as /ber/. However,

it appears as /bel/ in /belaǰar/ 'learn'. Furthermore, it appears as /be/ in the following, all of which have /er/ in the next syllable before a consonant:

/beterbaŋan/ 'fly everywhere' (/terbaŋ/ 'fly')

/bekerǰa/ 'work' (/kerǰa/ 'work')

/bekerlip/ 'blink' (/kerlip/ 'blink')

/bekertak/ 'creak' (/kertak/ 'creaking sound')

/beserban/ 'wear a turban' (/serban/ 'turban')

/beserdam 'play the bamboo flute' (/serdam/ 'bamboo flute')

/beserdawa/ 'belch' (/serdawa/ 'belch')

/beserta/ 'together' (/serta/ 'with')

111. In the following |beR| appears as both /be/ and /ber/:

/be(r)kerñut/ 'wrinkled (/kerñut/ 'wrinkle')

/be(r)ternak/ 'raising animals' (/ternak/ 'animals that are raised')

/be(r)lajar/ 'sail' (/lajar/ 'a sail')

112. The prefixal element |teR| generally appears as /ter/, but appears as /te/ in the following:

/tepercik/ 'spattered' (/percik/ 'spots')

/tepercit/ 'spattered' (/memercit/ 'spatter')

/tepercul/ 'emerge (from a hole)'

/teperdaja/ 'be deceived' (/memperdaja/ 'deceive')

/tekersik/ 'make the sound 'kersik'' (/kersik/ 'the sound 'kersik'')

113. The prefixal element |peR| usually appears as /per/ but in some cases as /pe/:

/pekerǰaan/ 'job' (/bekerǰa/ 'work')

/pelajaran/ 'voyage' (/be(r)lajar/ 'sail')

/petenung/ 'fortune-teller' (/tenung/ 'fortune-telling')

/peternak/ 'animal-raiser, /peternakan/ 'animal husbandry' (/beternak/ 'raise animals')

114. After the prefixes gem- (570), gemel- (571), gemer- (572) some bases with initial d, elsewhere have an alternant without it: gementam, gemelentam 'to thud repeatedly', dentam 'thud'; gemerentjing 'to clink repeatedly', dentjing 'clink'.

115. The word |mau| 'want, would like' as an auxiliary (see 242) appears as /mau/ only before a fade (see 51ff). It has the alternants /maw/ and /mo/, which vary with the tempo of the utterance, the latter appearing in utterances of higher tempo.

116. The word |mesti| 'must, have to' has a suppletive alternant /qusah/ which appears in the deliberate /tidaqqusah/ and the rapid /taqqusah/ 'not have to, not need to', in which the first element can be identified as the negative. The anticipative |akan| (see 168) has a rapid alternant /kan/ after /taq: /dia taq kan pergi/ 'He won't go.'

117. The negative tidaq has an alternant /taq/. In the Malay dialects of Sumatra /taq/ is the attributive (non-independent) alternant of /tidaq/, the latter occurring with ellipsis:

/dia pergi ↑ saja tidaq ↓ / '(Though) he went, I did not.'

One can compare the common Malay /saja taq pergi ↓/ 'I didn't go.' In standard Indonesian the appearance of /taq/ is much more restricted.

118. Unique alternations appear in:

/béa/	'customs	/pebian/	'customs office'
/se/	'one'	/satu/	'one'
/usal/	'origin'	/asli/	'original, native'

In a single instance an alternant /ser/ appears for se 'one' in serikat 'united' (/ser/ 'one' + /ikat/ 'tie').

The Standard Orthography

119. The standard orthography of Indonesian uses in the main the same symbols that we have used for the phonemes. We list the differences here:

	Standard
/é/, /è/	é (or e)

/ó/, (/o/)	o	
/aw/	au	hidjau 'green', saudara 'you'
/aj/	ai	sampai 'reach'
/c/	tj	tjutju 'grandchild'
/ǰ/	dj	djadi 'so'
/ň/	nj	menjanji 'sing'
/š/	sj	sjair 'kind of poem
/ŋ/	ng	nganga 'open (mouth)'
/x/	ch	achir 'end'
/uwa/	ua	
/ija/	ia	

120. The standard orthography likewise indicates final voiced non-nasal stops (as they occur in the speech of Sundanese): sebab 'because', abad 'century'. Similarly, the standard orthography indicates final k (as in the speech of Sundanese, whereas final /q/ is common in the speech of many others): kotak 'box'. The word raksasa 'giant' is everywhere /raksasa/.

121. A preconsonantal stop is indicated by k in some cases, as in rakjat 'people', and by ' in others: da'wa 'charge, accusation' beside dakwa. A final glottal stop is sometimes indicated in a few words by ': ta', tak 'not'. In a number of words a final glottal stop is common in speech, but not normally in the orthography as for example in:

/bawaq/	bawa	'bring, carry'
/nasiq/	nasi	'cooked rice'
/ǰugaq/	djuga	'also'
/pulaq/	pula	'also'
/taiq/	tahi	'excrement'

The written taruh 'put' (not 'bet') ends in the speech of most (perhaps not of Sundanese) in /q/, though the vowel immediately preceding may be different: /taróq/, /taroq/.

122. In many words the pronunciation varies on an individual basis and these variations are sometimes reflected in the orthography.

Thus /péhaq/ and /pihaq/ both occur, as do /péhak/ and /pihak/, in the orthography though the latter is perhaps more common.

123. A number of words usually written with initial h are sometimes written without initial h and other words usually written with initial vowel are occasionally written with initial h (examples from P):

abuk 'dust': habuk

habis 'exhausted': abis

iris 'slice': hiris

hilir 'downstream': ilir

udang 'shrimp, lobster': hudang

hudjan 'rain': udjan

The word /berenti/ 'stop is written berhenti. [On the other hand the orthographic perhentian is pronounced /perhentijan/.]

124. Words which contain a doubling (see 87 and Morphology, passim) usually have a hyphen written between the parts of the repetition: /bukubuku/ buku-buku 'books', /tulismenulis/ tulis-menulis 'writing'.

125. Certain elements are written as part of a following or preceding word. The prepositions di 'at', ke 'to', ber 'having' are commonly written without separation from a following word if that does not begin with a capital: dirumah 'at home', kerumah '(to) home', di Afrika 'in Africa', bersepatu putih 'having white shoes'. The particles lah and kah (see 323) and the dependent possessives ku 'my', mu 'thy', nja 'his' are written without separation from a preceding word: itulah 'it's that', itukah 'is that it', rumahku 'my house', rumahmu 'thy house', rumahnja 'his house'. Sometimes this results in a sequence of such elements: rumahnjakah 'is it his house'.

126. Complex words which contain more than one element which occur independently are written with space between the elements: rumah makan 'restaurant'.

127. The standard orthography will be used in what follows.

II. SYNTAX

128. A *sentence* is a complete utterance minus its final contour.

129. The section on syntax deals with the arrangements of words and non-final contours in sentences. In the following the word contour is used in the sense of 'non-final contour'.

130. A word with a (non-final) contour is said to be separated from the next word by the contour: Thus in buku↑djatuh. 'A book fell'. The word buku is separated from the word djatuh by the contour ↑. Similarly a sequence of words is said to be divided by a contour.

131. A sequence of words and/or intonations that occurs next to other words and/or intonations in a sentence is a *focus* and the other words and/or intonations constitute the *environment*.

132. Foci that occur in the same environment and have the same relation to that environment constitute a *form-class*. Some form-classes occur in more than one environment.

133. The environments in which only a given form-class occurs are specific for that form-class.

134. A specific environment of a form-class together with that form-class is a construction.

135. The specific environment of a form-class consists of form-classes.

136. The form-classes of a construction are its consitituents.

137. A construction is endocentric if it is in the same form-class everywhere as one of its constituents. Otherwise the construction is exocentric. A minimum exocentric construction is one which includes no endocentric construction.

138. A constituent of an endocentric construction which is contained in the same form-class as its construction is a head (or center), and specifically a head of the endocentric construction in which it is contained. Otherwise it is an attribute (or satellite, or modifier). If an attribute is separated from its head by a contour it is loose; otherwise it is close.

139. A constituent other than a head is a dependent constituent. Thus attributes and constituents of an exocentric construction are dependent constituents.

140. A head is an independent constituent.

141. A construction with interchangeable immediate constituents is a commutable construction and interchangeable constituents are commutable. If commutable constituents are equally heads of a commutable construction, the construction is coordinate:

buku dan kertas 'book and paper'

kertas dan buku 'paper and book'

kertas lagi buku 'paper and book'

buku lagi kertas 'paper and book'

berdjalan berbélok-bélok; berbélok-bélok berdjalan 'go winding and twisting'

kertas atau buku 'paper or book'

buku atau kertas 'book or paper'

142. The coordinate immediate constituents of a coordinate construction are members of the same form-class.

143. A sentence consists wholly of independent immediate constituents. Each independent constituent is a subsentence. There are two subsentences in the following:

> saja pergi kesana ↓ dia datang kemari. 'I went there; he came here.'

144. It is convenient to describe a sentence in terms of its minimal units, the subsentence.

145. A subsentence belongs to the form-class of clauses. A clause which is a subsentence is independent; otherwise a clause is dependent. A dependent clause is a transformation of an independent clause. Some subsentences consist of an independent constituent which does not occur as a head with attributes. Such a subsentence is exclamatory:

> aduh 'ouch!'
>
> selamat pagi 'Good morning!'

146. A word which is an exclamatory subsentence is an interjection: aduh 'ouch', ja 'yes'.

147. A particular sequence sometimes has an unrepeated environment carried over from an utterance in the recent past in which it or a member of its form-class is a dependent constituent. Such a sequence is elliptical. For example:

apa saudara sudah pergi? 'Have you gone?'

sudah. 'Yes.' (lit. 'have, already')

belum. 'No.' (lit. 'have not, not yet')

148. Here the environment of sudah in the second sentence is carried over from the first sentence, in which sudah is an attribute of pergi (cf. apa saudara pergi? 'Did you go?'). The environment is similarly carried over to the third sentence (belum.) as an example of another possible reply.

149. A subsentence which is exclamatory or elliptical is a minor subsentence. Otherwise a subsentence is major. Similarly, a clause

which occurs as a major subsentence is a major clause and one that occurs as a minor subsentence is a minor clause.

150. A word or minimum exocentric construction that appears as a major subsentence is a predicator. The word buku 'book' is a predicator and appears in the major subsentence buku. 'It is a book.' Similarly, the exocentric construction disana (di 'at', sana 'yonder') is a predicator in the major subsentence disana. 'It is there.'

151. A predicator or a construction with a predicator as ultimate head which is a sequence not divided by a contour is a predicator expression. Thus in sudah pergi. '(He has) already gone.' the two words constitute a predicator expression.

152. A predicator expression that is a clause alone or the head of a clause is a predicate. Thus the construction sudah pergi is a predicate in both of the following:

sudah pergi. '(He has) already gone.'

meréka ↑ sudah pergi. 'They have already gone.'

Predicative Clause

153. A major clause which consists of a predicator alone or in construction with words and constructions which are either immediate or nested attributes of the predicator is a predicative clause.

Non-Predicators

154. A word that is not a predicator is a non-predicator. A non-predicator is attributive or non-attributive. An attributive non-predicator occurs only as an attribute: e.g. agak 'rather' as in agak muda 'rather young'.

155. A non-attributive non-predicator occurs only in exocentric constructions. A non-attributive non-predicator is predicatific, if its exocentric construction is a predicator: e.g. di 'at' is a predicatific since it forms a predicator dirumah 'is at home' with rumah 'house'.

156. On the other hand the non-predicator akan 'in respect to'

does not form similar predicators and is thus an attributific.

157. The predicatifics are (1) pseudo-verbs and (2) relationals.

A pseudo-verb is:

(a) a ke- + -an predicatific (see 232, 618): e.g. ketjurian 'suffer a theft' (dia ketjurian djam. 'He had his watch stolen.');

(b) a comparative (231): e.g. sebesar 'be as big as' (dia sebesar saja. (He is as big as I.')

(c) a passive base (see 239): e.g. beli 'be bought' (itu saja beli. 'That was bought by me.');

(d) an ordinal: e.g. kedua 'second' (ini jang kedua. 'This is the second.').

The rationals are:

(a) prepositions: e.g. di 'at' (dia dirumah. 'He is at home.');

(b) djadi, mendjadi 'become' (dia mendjadi guru. 'He became a teacher.');

(c) relaters: e.g. kalau 'if' (sjaratnja kalau dia datang. 'The condition is if he comes.').

158. The attributifics are (1) pre-predicators, (2) predicate particles, (3) pseudo-prepositions, (4) graders, (5) holics, (6) coordinators, (7) subordinators, (8) verbal substantives.

Pre-predicators

159. A pre-predicator is an attributive non-predicator that precedes a predicator head and is not separated from it by a contour. For example, sudah is a pre-predicator in the sentence dia sudah pergi. 'He has gone.'; it is a non-predicator and is a preceding attribute of the predicator pergi and has no contour (nor does one occur on an intervening word). A pre-predicator is (1) a predicate negative, (2) an aspectual, (3) an impressional, (4) a restrictive, (5) a temporal, (6) an anticipative, (7) a modal, (8) an auxiliary (restricted to narrative predicators, see 242). (9) an adverb (see 253 ff).

Predicate Negatives

160. A predicate negative enters into the predicate as an attribute of the predicator or of a construction with a predicator as head. The predicator negatives are djangan 'imperative negative', tidak,

tiada (only literary), 'narrative negative', and bukan 'equational negative.'

djangan pergi. 'Don't go.'

tidak djatuh. 'It did not fall; it is not falling; it will not fall.'

tiada djatuh. 'It did not fall; it is not falling; it will not fall.'

bukan rumah. 'It is not a house.'

(berdjalan) bukan berlari. '(Walking) is not running.'

[Cf. (dia) tidak berlari. '(He) does not run.']

(kerdjanja) bukan mengadjar. '(His work) is not teaching.'

[Cf. (dia) tidak mengadjar. '(He) is not teaching.']

In Medan colloquial tidak replaces bukan in certain combinations; see Predicate Particle and Predication Attributes under Adjuncts.

161. A predicator is imperative, narrative, or equational according to the negative with which it could occur. Thus the predicator in

pergi. 'Go!' is an imperative predicator because the negative with which it could occur is djangan; similarly the predicator in djatuh. 'It fell; it is falling; it will fall.' is a narrative predicator because the negative with which it could occur is tidak; and similarly the predicator in rumah. 'It is a house.' is an equational predicator because the negative with which it could occur is bukan$_1$.

162. A non-imperative predicator expression also occurs as the subject attribute of a predicate in the subject-predicate construction. An instance of a subject-predicate construction is the following, in which buku 'book' is the subject and djatuh 'fall' is the predicate:

buku djatuh. 'A book fell.'

Aspectuals

163. The aspectuals are sudah, telah (chiefly literary) 'already',

belum 'not yet', baru 'have just, finally', masih, lagi 'still', sedang, tengah 'be in the course of'.

dia sudah makan. 'he has eaten.'

dia belum makan. 'He has not yet eaten.'

dia baru makan. 'He has just eaten; he has finally eaten.'

dia masih makan. 'He is still eating.'

dia lagi makan. 'He is still eating.'

dia sedang makan. 'He is (in the course of) eating.'

dia tengah makan. 'He is in the course of eating.'

dia lagi makan. 'He is in the course of eating, is still eating.'

dia sudah ketua. 'He is now a soldier.'

dia belum ketua. 'He is not yet a soldier.'

dia baru ketua. 'He has just become a chairman; he is finally a chairman.'

dia masih (lagi) ketua. 'He is still a chairman.'

dia sedang (tengah) ketua. 'He is at the time a chairman.'

164. Certain pairs of aspectuals occur:

dia sedang belum makan lagi. 'He had still not yet eaten at the time.'

dia sedang baru makan. 'He had at the time just begun eating.'

dia masih (lagi) belum makan. 'He still had not yet eaten.'

dia masih (lagi) sedang (tengah) makan. 'He was still in the course of eating.'

Impressionals

165. The impressionals are seakan-akan, seolah-olah, seperti, sebagai, bagaikan 'be as though, seem to'. They precede aspectuals:

> dia seakan-akan (seolah-olah, seperti, etc.) terbang.
> 'He seemed to fly, he was as though flying.'
>
> dia bagaikan hanja duduk sadja. 'It was as though he only sat.'
>
> dia seolah-olah masih marah. 'He was as though still angry.'

Restrictives

166. The restrictives are hanja, tjuma 'only'. They follow negatives (and so also aspectuals):

> dia masih hanja duduk sadja. 'He still only sat.'
>
> dia hanja pekerdja. 'He was only a worker.'
>
> dia bukan hanja pekerdja. 'He's not only a worker.'

Temporals

167. The temporals are selalu 'always' and pernah 'once, at some time', sering, sering kali 'often'. They follow aspectuals, but none can appear with all aspectuals. The first two take tidak as an attribute (and perhaps the third does as well); the first also takes hampir 'almost' as an attribute:

dia masih selalu ketua.	'He is still always chairman.'
dia masih selalu datang.	'He still always comes.'
dia hampir selalu datang.	'He almost always comes.'
dia sudah pernah ketua.	'He has once been chairman.'
dia belum pernah pergi.	'He has never gone.'
dia tidak pernah akan ketua.	'He will never be chairman.'
dia masih tidak pernah datang.	'He still never comes.'
dia sudah sering ketua.	'He has often been chairman.'
meréka masih sering kali datang.	'They still come often.'

Anticipatives

168. The anticipatives are akan and hendak. These occur only with narrative predicators.

akan djatuh. 'It will fall.'

hendak djatuh. 'It will fall.'

169. In some Malay dialects akan is literary. In such dialects hendak is not restricted to narrative predicators, but like modals occurs also with equational predicators. Here however the negative is bukan (and not tidak as with the modals):

dia bukan hendak ketua. 'He will not be chairman.'

Modals

170. The modals are harus 'ought to, must', mesti 'must', tidak-usah 'not have to'. They form a modal construction with narrative and equational predicators:

harus pergi. '(one) ought to go.'

mesti datang. '(one) must come.'

tidak-usah berangkat. '(One) does not have to depart.'

(dia) harus ketua. '(He) ought to be chairman.'

(dia) mesti ketua. '(He) must be chairman.'

(dia) tidak-usah ketua. '(He) does not have to be chairman.'

171. A modal construction is a narrative predicator if it is negatable:

tidak harus pergi. '(One) does not have to go.'

tidak mesti ketua. '(One) does not have to be chairman.'

172. The modal construction with tidak-usah is non-negatable. The element usah in the sequence tidak-usah is regarded as included in both harus and mesti.

Nominal Expressions

173. A predicator expression that is negatable by bukan is a nominal expression.

174. A nominal expression that is a word is a noun. Thus buku is a noun because it occurs in bukan buku. 'It is not a book.'

175. The jang-construction is also a nominal expression. A jang--construction consists of the relational jang in construction with a clause: see above. Jang is thus related:

bukan jang mérah. 'It was not the red one.'

176. Another exocentric nominal expression is formed with the post-position punja: e.g. saja panja 'mine'. This will be called the punja-construction.

177 A noun, a jang-construction or a punja construction (without attributes) is a minimal nominal expression.

178 A non-minimal nominal expression is a nominal construction. It has as its head a minimal or a non-minimal nominal expression.

179. A nominal construction whose head is not a nominal construction is a minimal nominal construction.

180. A noun is a substantive, or a pronoun, or a numeral.

Pronouns

181. A pronoun is (1) personal: (a) unclitic: saja, aku (informal) 'I'; tuan (highly formal), saudara (formal), engkau, kau (informal) 'thou, you', ia (literary), beliau (highly respectful), dia 'he, she, it', nja 'his, her, its, their', kita 'we (inclusive)', kami 'we (exclusive)', kamu 'ye, you, thou (weakly polite)', merèka 'they'; (b) enclitic (possessive): ku (informal) 'of me, my'; mu (informal) 'of thee, thy', nja 'his, her, its, their, of him, of her, of it, of them'; (c) proclitic: ku 'me', kau 'thee' (2) demonstrative: itu 'that', ini 'this'; (3) interrogative: siapa 'who' apa 'what' mana 'which'; (4) indefinite: e.g. siapa sadja 'anyone', apa sadja 'anything.'

182. The pronoun ia is almost exclusively literary and restricted to occurrence as subject, as preceding agent in the passive construction and as predicator:

ia djatuh. 'He fell.'

apa jang ia katakan dulu? 'What did he say before?'

ialah jang membajar séwañja. 'It was he that paid the hire.'

183. The pronoun kau on the other hand whose distribution in constructions is about the same as ia is also literary, but occurs only in representing informal speech:

kau pergi bésok. 'You will go tomorrow.'

apa jang kau katakan? 'What did you say?'

kaulah jang punja. 'You're the one that has it.'

184. In attributive positions and as the member of certain prepositional phrases (see 222) nja is unemphatic in contrast with dia.

bukunja	'his book'
buku dia	'his book'

Very often its reference is so vague that its meaning resembles that of English 'the' (particularly in the speech of Javanese): e.g. bukunja '(book of it = the book of the situation, the one involved =) the book'. Similarly ku and mu are unemphatic in contrast with aku and engkau (and kamu) respectively:

bukuku, buku aku	'my book'
bukumu, buku engkau	'thy, your book'

So also after a literary active (see 243):

membawanja	'bring him'
membawaku	'bring me'
membawamu	'bring you'

A Few Constructions

185. A determinate construction consists of a demonstrative attribute with its head:

buku itu	'that book'
jang disitu itu	'that one over there'
dia pergi kesana itu tidak baik.	'That he went there [at, he go there that] is not good.'

186. A jang-modified nominal construction consists of a nominal expression in construction with a jang-construction.

saja jang pergi	'I who went'
buku jang mérah	'a red book'

satu jang besar 'one big one'

187. The clause which appears in an attributive jang-construction also appears as an attribute of the same head, provided it follows the head directly:

anak jang menangis	'a child that's crying'
anak menangis	'a crying child'
buku jang disitu	'the book there'
buku disitu	'the book there'

188. A noun expression enters into the appositional construction with another noun expression:

kapal kaju Janssen	'the wooden ship Janssen'

Substantive Expressions

189. A noun which appears as the head of a minimal nominal construction other than a determinate and/or a jang-modified nominal construction is a substantive. Thus in satu rumah 'one house' the head is rumah and

is thus a substantive.

190. A noun expression with a substantive as head is a substantive expression. The preceding attribute of a substantive expression is a quantifier. A quantifier is either a predicator or a non-predicator.

Quantifier

191. A non-predicator quantifier is a holic: setiap, tiap, tiaptiap 'each', segala 'entire, every', segenap 'all, entire', sekudjur 'entire', seluruh 'entire (throughout)', suatu 'a certain', sesuatu 'one or another, some kind of a . . ., the kind of a . . .', and the inclusive numerals (e.g. ketiga in ketiga buku 'all three books').

192. A predicator quantifier is an enumerative: beberapa, berbilang 'several', berbagai, berbagaibagai, pelbagai, matjam-matjam 'various', satu-satunja 'sole, only', semua 'all', separuh 'some', setengah 'half, some', and the cardinal numerals (dua buku 'two books'). An enumerative is a narrative predicator (in the instances that we have):

itu tidak semua. 'That is not all.'

itu tidak satu-satunja. 'That is not the only one.'

193. Holics except for inclusive numerals do not occur as loose attributes, but some are associated with a loose attributive form derived with a suffix nja. These are segalanja, segenapnja, sekudjurnja, seluruhnja:

seluruhnja (segalanja, segenapnja, sekudjurnja) baik.
'All are good.'

194. The inclusive numerals freely occur as loose attributes:

Kedua tidak baik. 'Both are not good.'

195. The enumerative semua 'all' occurs also as attributes of certain types of noun expressions:

kita semua sakit. 'All of us are sick.'

meréka semua itu tinggi. 'All of them are tall.'

196. It shares the following with semuanja, sekalianja, seluruhnja, sekudjurnja, segenapnja 'all', and the inclusive numerals plus nja:

meréka itu semua berdiri. 'All of them are standing.'

meréku itu semuanja berdiri. 'All of them are standing.'

orang itu sekalian duduk. 'All of the people sat down.'

orang itu sekaliannja duduk. 'All of the people sat down.'

tanah itu seluruhnja subur. 'All of that land is fertile.'

orang itu ketiganja tinggi-tinggi. 'All three of the men were on the tall side.'

Descriptive Construction

197. A descriptive construction consists of an attributive (1) substantive, (2) adjective, or (3) numeral preceded by (a) a non-definite substantive expression; or (b) a descriptive construction in terms of (a); or (c) a descriptive construction in terms of (b), etc.: e.g.

perempuan muda	'young woman'
perempuan muda Batak	'young Batak woman'
perempuan Batak muda	'young Batak woman'
kelas tiga	'class three, third class'

198. The descriptive construction is further subclassified according to the attribute. We thus speak of descriptive substantive, descriptive

adjective, and descriptive numeral constructions. The descriptive substantive construction offers difficulties in analysis. The construction itself is illustrated by the following example:

perdagangan import dan export 'import and export merchandise'

in which import and export are substantives. However it has not yet been possible to determine whether all of the instances regarded as probable instances of the descriptive substantive construction are not compounds of the type exemplified by anak gadis 'young girl'. If we consider the possibility that orang kampung 'villager' is a compound, we must also consider whether a test sequence such as orang kampung dan kota exists and has the sequence orang kampung in it. For if it does, then orang kampung is not a compound. On the other hand, if we say that simpanan bénsin 'store of gasoline' is a descriptive substantive construction, then we imply that some critical sequence like *simpanan bénsin dan minjak exists and contains the sequence simpanan bénsin. Since in the following not all cases have been tested, I have simply followed the best judgment I can make at this time.

199. The most common descriptive substantive attribute gives the composition or content of the head:

lingkungan empat dinding témbok 'surroundings of four masonry walls'

pemuda pudjangga 'a poet youth'

orang penjair 'A composer of sjairs, a poet'

rombongan wartawan 'a group of reporters'

rasa penghargaan 'a feeling of appreciation'

zaman dua abad jang lampau 'a time two centuries ago'

villa pelbagai bentuk 'villas of various kinds'

lapangan agama 'the field of religion'

pemerintah peralihan 'provisional (= transitional) government'

semangat perdjuangan 'spirit of struggle'

200. This suggests that the following be regarded as exemplifying conventional metaphorical use:

tjermin raksasa 'great mirror' (lit. 'mirror that is a giant')

barang keperluan 'needed thing' (lit. 'a thing that is a need')

zaman kegelapan 'Dark age' ('period which is darkness')

201. However in some instances the attribute has other relations to the head as in the following:

(purpose) alat-alat peladjaran 'means of study'

(location) udjung selatan 'southern end'

abad-abad pertengahan 'Middle Ages'

Tionghoa perantauan 'Chinese abroad, emigrant Chinese'

(source) wang pendjualan 'sales money'

pemuda Atjéh 'A chinese youth'

202. Certain interrogative and indefinite pronouns appear as attributes in the descriptive construction:

buah apa? 'What kind of fruit?'

buah mana? 'Which fruit?'

buah apa sadja 'any kind of fruit'

203. The descriptive attribute can be a cardinal or ordinal numeral:

kelas tiga 'class three'

tahun 1947 'the year 1947'

buku jang kedua 'the second book'

Genitival Construction

204. A substantive and a following noun expression as genitive attribute constitute a genitival construction. The meaning of the construction ranges over possession, subjective relation, and partitive relation. In the following the head is possessed by the attribute:

buku saja 'my book'

siapanja 'who of his' (e.g. relatives)

205. The relation is subjective in the following:

kekurangan guru 'lack of teachers' (cf.: guru kurang. 'Teachers are lacking.')

kemadjuan dunia modern 'the advance of the modern world'

(cf.: dunia...madju. 'The world advances.')

206. The partitive meaning is exemplified in the construction of the interrogative pronouns apa, mana, and jang mana with a noun expression as attribute:

apanja jang rusak? 'What of it is broken?'

mananja jang baik? 'Which (part) of it is good?'

jang mananja jang énak? 'Which (part) of it is tasty?'

207. A numeral can appear as a genitive attribute only as an ellipsis for a substantive expression:

djuni 1947 (for djuni tahun 1947)

punja-Construction

208. A noun expression forms a punja-construction with the post-position punja. The resultant construction means 'something possessed by the noun expression':

Kawan saja punja. 'It is my friend's.'

itu bukan saja punja. 'That isn't mine.'

saja punja ini tidak baik. 'This one of mine isn't good.'

209. This construction is common in Sumatra and not so common in Java. In Java it is common to use the noun punja 'possessed object' to form phrases equivalent to the above:

itu (bukan) punja saja. 'That is (not) mine.'

punja saja ini baik sekali. 'This one of mine is very good.'

210. In Sumatra there is some currency for the construction of the punja-construction as a preceding attribute, but it is generally regarded as low colloquial by people of education: e.g.

itu bapa saja punja rumah. 'That is my father's house.'

Defective Substantives

211. Two types of substantives that are limited in their range of occurrence are the restricted partitive substantives (see 218) and the verbal substantive (see 310-312).

212. Certain substantives are servely limited in their range of occurrence. Examples are sebagainja 'the like', lain-lainnja 'the rest':

buku, kertas, dan sebagainja. 'Books, paper, and the like.'

buku, kertas, dan lain-lainnja. 'Books, paper, and the rest.'

As an instance of the limitations on the range of their occurence these defective substantives are not commutable with the substantives that precede.

213. The local substitutes sini 'here', situ 'there (near you, aforementioned)', sana 'yonder' occur in prepositional constructions and as such (for Sumatran speakers) appear also with a demonstrative as attribute. Furthermore in the speech of Sumatran speakers they occur as attributes of substantives.

disini, disini ini 'here', dirumah sini 'here in the house'

disitu, disitu itu 'there', dirumah situ 'there in the house'

disana, disana itu 'there, yonder', dirumah sana 'in yonder house'

Narrative Predicators

214. A narrative predicator is a simple numeral, a relational

expression, a verbal expression, or an adverbial expression.

Numerals

215. A simple numeral is ambiguously an equational predicator or a narrative predicator:

buku itu tidak lima. 'There are not five of those books.' (lit. 'Those books are not five.')

buku itu bukan lima. 'There are not five of those books.'

A compound numeral is (unambiguously) an equational predicator:

buku itu bukan lima buah. 'There are not five of those books.' (lit. 'Those books are not five.')

216. A numeral forms a numeral-nominal construction with an immediately following nominal:

tiga orang guru masuk. 'Three teachers entered.'

Partitive Substantives

217. A partitive substantive enters into construction with the

numeral se 'one'. If it also enters into construction with the numeral satu 'one', the meaning is contrastive:

setahun 'a year'

satu tahun 'one year'

218. Restricted partitive substantives occur only after numerals:

sedjadjar 'a row' (cf. djadjaran 'row')

dua djadjar 'two rows'

Approximatives

219. The words kira-kira, lebih-kurang (Sumatra), kurang-lebih (Java) 'approximately, about' are approximatives when attributes of a numeral:

kira-kira tiga 'approximately three'

lebih-kurang empat orang 'about four (humans)'

kurang-lebih enam ekor 'about four (animals)'

Relational Constructions

220. A narrative predicator that is a relational construction is (1) a prepositional construction, (2) a djadi construction, (3) a comparative construction, (4) a ke- + -an construction, (5) a passive phrase, (6) a subordinator contruction.

Prepositional Constructions

221. Prepositions fall into two classes: (1) those which do not enter into construction with nja and (2) those which do. Prepositions which do not enter into construction with nja are: di 'at', ke 'to', dari 'from', dengan, sama (chiefly colloquial) 'with', buat 'for', seperti 'like', ber 'having', sampai, hingga 'until', sebagai 'as'. The preposition di furthermore does not enter into construction with a pronoun (?, nor does de with dia).

222. Prepositions that enter into construction with nja are: daripada 'from', kepada 'to', pada 'at', (?)bagi, untuk 'for'.

daripadanja	'from, than him, her, it'
kepadanja	'to him'
padanja	'at his place'
baginja	'for him'
untuknja	'for him'
dia dirumah.	'He is at home.'
dia kekota.	'He is going to the city.'
dia dari Médan.	'He is from Médan.'
dia dengan saja.	'He is with me.'
dia sama saja.	'He is with me.'
ini buat kawan saudara.	'This is for your friend.'
itu seperti rumah saja.	'That is like my house.'

lamanja sampai djam tiga. 'It lasted (lit. the lasting was) until three o'clock.'

kerdjanja sebagai mandur. 'He worked (lit. his working was) as a manager.'

223. The preposition ber forms a possessive construction with a substantive-adjective construction. The adjective can be replaced by a jang-construction with an adjective as predicator:

dia bersepatu putih. 'He has white shoes on.'

dia bersepatu jang putih. 'He has white shoes on.'

or with other attributive narrative predicator expressions:

anak-anak tidak bertampang akan mendjadi orang pintar. 'The children did not have the look of becoming clever people.'

Preposition Verb Construction

224. Certain prepositions enter into construction with verb expressions. They are dengan, untuk, and bagi. The preposition dengan forms an adverbial expression with a non-predicator adverb:

dia bitjara dengan marah. 'He spoke angrily.'

and an explicit adverbial expression with a predicator adverb:

dia bitjara dengan keras. 'He spoke loudly.'

A non-predicator adverb does not occur outside of the dengan construction, though its doubling has the meaning characteristic of adverbs (see 255 ff.)

dia bitjara dengan marah-marah. 'He spoke very angrily.'

On the other hand predicator adverbs do occur freely without dengan:

dia bitjara keras. 'He spoke loudly.'

dia bitjara (dengan) keras-keras. 'He spoke very loudly.'

225. In standard Indonesian but not in the colloquial the adverb can be followed by nja:

dia bitjara dengan marahnja.

dia bitjara dengan marah-marahnja.

dia bitjara dengan kerasnja.

dia bitjara dengan keras-kerasnja.

226. The preposition dengan forms a prepositional construction with a narrative predicator expression:

dia masuk dengan tidak bitjara. 'He entered without speaking.'

227. The prepositions untuk, bagi (literary), and buat (colloquial) form a prepositional construction with a verb expression:

buku itu untuk dibatja. 'That book is to be read.'

dipasangnja lampu untuk membatja. 'He put on the light to read.'

dia kemari bagi menjerahkan dirinja. 'He came here to surrender himself.'

dia tinggal buat menjelesaikan pekerdjaan. 'He stayed to finish the job.'

228. The prepositional phrases tidak dengan, tiada dengan (literary only) 'without' form a prepositional phrase with a predicator expression:

dia datang tidak dengan kawannja. 'He came without
his friend.'

dia pergi tiada dengan makan. 'He went without eating.'

229. Prepositional constructions occur with certain attributes. Among them are betul, benar 'right, directly'. They follow the prepositional construction:

ia lari didepan auto kami benar. 'He ran right in front
or our car.'

Attributific Preposition

230. The exocentric construction formed by an attributific preposition with a following nominal expression is not a predicator. The attributific prepositions are akan 'in regard to', dari, daripada 'than', sebagai 'as'.

dia lupa akan orang itu. 'He forgot about (i.e. ignored) that man.'

ini lebih besar dari (pada) itu. 'This is bigger than that.'

Comparative Constructions

231. A comparative construction has as its prior element a comparative and as its second a noun expression:

Médan tidak seramai Singapura. 'Medan is not as crowded as Singapore.'

Ke- + -an Constructions

232. A ke- + -an construction has as its first member a (ke- + -an and intransitive (618) (which is not a predicator) and the second member is a non-determinate substantive expression:

motor itu kehabisan air. 'That car is out of water.'

dia sudah kedjangkitan penjakit. 'He has been infected by the disease.'

perempuan itu kematian anak. 'That woman has suffered the loss of a child.'

rakjat kekurangan rumah. 'The people lack houses.'

sopir kehilangan akal. 'The driver lost his mind.'

233. If the base of the ke- + -an derivative is a root intransitive, the noun that follows the ke- + -an derivative is often a possible subject attribute of the base intransitive associated with the ke- + -an derivative; the actual subject then appears as a genitive attribute.

air motor itu habis. 'The water in that car is gone.'

anak perempuan itu sudah mati. 'That girl is dead.'

rumah rakjat kurang. 'Houses for the people are insufficient.'

akal sopir hilang. 'The driver went out of his mind (lit. the driver's mind vanished).'

234. In the following two cases the intransitive is a derivative and the subject of the ke-+-en construction is an attribute consisting of a prepositional construction with the preposition kepada of the intransitive:

dia kedjangkitan penjakit. 'He was infected by a contagious disease.' Cf.: penjakit mendjangkit (berdjangkit) kepadanja. 'The disease spread to him.'

meréka sudah ketularan semangat kemerdékaan. 'They have been infected by the spirit of freedom.' Cf.: semangat kemerdékaan menular kepada meréka. 'The spirit of freedom spread to them.'

The djadi Construction

235. A djadi construction has as its prior member djadi or mendjadi and as its second member a noun expression:

dia djadi (mendajadi) kawan saja. 'He became my friend.'

Verbal Expressions

236. A word that is a narrative predicator is a verb.

237. A verb is passive, active, or intransitive.

238. A passive verb appears in the passive-agent construction.

dibeli Sumitro. 'It was bought by Sumitro.'

239. In the passive-agent construction the pronoun agent precedes the verb in its base form and forms an exocentric passive construction with it.

buku itu saja beli. 'That book was bought by me.'

itu jang saja lihat dan alami. 'That is what I saw and experienced.'

240. Although pronouns are the only common agent in the exocentric passive construction, unmodified substantives also have appeared.

penulis karangkan. 'It was written by the author.'

Daud bawa. 'David brought it.'

241. A verbal expression is a verb or an exocentric passive construction taken together with any present attributes and otherwise alone.

Auxiliaries

242. A narrative predicator expression forms an auxiliary construction with a preceding auxiliary. The auxiliaries are ada 'in fact,

happen to, at some time or other', djadi 'succeed, manage', mau 'want', ingin 'desire', suka 'like', dapat, bisa 'be able, can', biasa 'be used to, accustomed to', boléh 'be permitted, allowed', perlu 'necessary, need to':

dia ada pergi. 'He has gone at some time.'

itu ada saja beli. 'I have bought that at some time.'

dia djadi pergi. 'He got to go.'

itu djadi saja beli. 'He succeeded in buying that.'

dia mau pergi. 'He wants to go.'

itu mau saja beli. 'I wanted to buy that.'

dia ingin pergi. 'He desired to go.'

itu ingin saja beli. 'I desired to buy that.'

dia suka pergi. 'He likes to go.'

itu suka saja beli. 'I like to buy that.'

dia bisa (dapat) pergi. 'He is able to go.'

itu bisa saja beli. 'I can buy that.'

dia biasa pergi. 'He used to go.'

itu biasa saja beli. 'I used to buy it.'

dia boléh pergi. 'He is permitted to go.'

itu boléh saja beli. 'I am permitted to buy that.'

dia perlu pergi. 'He has to go.'

itu perlu saja beli. 'I need to buy that.'

Active-goal Construction

243. An active verb appears in an active-goal construction in which the goal can be nja and, in the literary dialect, ku, mu (see 184).

Sumitro membeli buku. 'Sumitro is buying books.'

Sumitro membelinja. 'Sumitro bought it.'

Sumitro membauaku. 'Sumitro bought me?'

Intransitives and Transitives

244. An intransitive verb appears in neither the passive-agent construction nor the active-goal construction.

Sumitro pergi. 'Sumitro went away.'

A transitive verb is a member of a transitive inflection which in its full form consists of a base (e.g. batja 'read'), an active (membatja 'read'), and a passive (dibatja 'be read'). In Radjab there is an additional member, a defective verbal substantive formed with the prefix peN- (see 492), which is constructed with untuk to form an infinitive phrase e.g. untuk pengantjam 'to threaten'. Some transitives are defective in lacking an active in the literary dialect: e.g. disengadja 'be done deliberately', dimakan 'be eaten', diminum 'be drunk'. In ordinary colloquial the base of large numbers of common transitives occurs as active (but not before enclitic pronouns, see 184). Thus:

literary and high colloquial: dia membawa buku ita 'He brought that book.'

ordinary colloquial: dia bawa buku ita. 'He brought that book.'

Graders

245. A grader is a non-predicator which occurs only as an attribute of certain intransitives. Preceding graders precede their head; they are paling 'most', agak 'rather', tjukup 'quite, enough', kurang 'less', lebih 'more', terlalu, terlampau 'too', makin, semakin, bertambah 'the more, commensurately increasing', tidak begitu, tidak bérapa, tidak seberapa 'not very':

paling besar	'biggest'
agak besar	'rather big'
makin besar	'increasingly bigger'
tidak begitu besar	'not very large'
paling suka	'like most'
agak suka	'rather like'
semakin suka	'increasingly like'
agak pagi	'rather early in the morning'
agak menjenangkan	'rather pleasing'

246. Following graders follow their head; they are sekali 'very', djuga 'quite', betul benar (mainly literary) 'real, really':

besar sekali	'very big'
besar djuga	'quite big'
besar betul	'real big'
besar benar	'real big, very big'
suka sekali	'like very much'
suka djuga	'quite like'
pagi sekali	'very early in the morning'
menjenangkan sekali	'very pleasing'
suka betul	'really like'
suka benar	'really like'

Gradients

247. An intransitive that can have a grader as an attribute is a gradient. Thus both besar and suka are gradients. Like a nominal expression a gradient expression enters into

an exocentric construction with djadi (mendjadi) 'become'.

> dia (men)djadi pandai. 'He became skilful.'
>
> saja mendjadi biasa dengan keadaan itu. 'I became used to that condition.'

Adjectives

248.Some gradients are members of a four-part inflection of the type besar 'large' [simple (number unspecified)]; besar-besar 'large' [(variegated specific) plural]; besarnja 'how large' (expostulative predicator); sebesar 'be as large as' (comparative):

> buku ini besar. 'This book is large; these books are large.'
>
> buku ini besar-besar. 'These books are on the large side.'

besarnja buku ini. 'How large this book is.'

buku ini sebesar itu. 'This book is as large as that.'

This inflection is called the adjectival inflection. Only adjectival inflections with a monomorphemic base are known. Only the simple and plural forms of the adjectival inflection are gradients. Gradients which are members of an adjectival inflection are adjectives. Other gradients like suka are non-adjectives.

249. A simple adjective forms a berapa-construction with berapa 'how, how much':

berapa besar ↓ rumah itu? 'How big is that house?'

250. On Java this construction is not as common as on Sumtra. On Java it tends to be replaced by a subject-predicate construction with the berbal noun of the adjective as subject:

rumah itu ↑ berapa ↓ besarnja? 'How big is that house?'

(lit. 'That house how-much the-being-big?')

251. The intransitives lebih 'more' and kurang 'less' enter as head into a construction with a preceding djauh 'far':

itu djauh lebih. 'That is far more.'

itu djauh kurang. 'That is far less.'

itu djauh lebih besar. 'That is far bigger.'

itu djauh kurang menjenangkan. 'That is far less satisfactory.'

Quasi-graders

252. The word setengah enters as a preceding attribute into construction with a few verbs:

dia setengah mati. 'He was half dead.'

itu setengah penuh. 'That is half full.'

Adverb-plus-Verb Construction

253. The adverb-plus-verb construction appears in a weaker and a stronger form. In the weaker form it is the adverb-verb construction; in the stronger form it is the verb-adverb construction. In either case no other attribute of the verb can intervene between the adverb and the verb. The adverb can however have grader attributes. The emphasis on the adverb is greater in the stronger than in the weaker form: e.g.

dia akan lantjar-lantjar berbitjara. 'He will speak very fluently.'

dia akan berbitjara lantjar-lantjar. 'He will speak very fluently.'

254. A simple adverb consists of one morpheme. Many simple adverbs are associated with a corresponding doubling meaning 'very...'. Compare the following with the example above:

dia akan lantjar berbitjara. 'He will speak fluently.'

dia akan bitjara lantjar. 'He will speak fluently.'

255. The following are examples of the adverb-plus-verb construction in its weaker form. In each case (1) the adverb can be replaced by doubling and (2) either adverb (the simple one or the doubling) can be commuted with the verb predicator:

dia akan lantjar berbitjara. 'He will speak fluently.'

kami radjin sembahjang. 'We prayed diligently.'

meréka pantas betul mendirikan villa dan banggelo. 'They quickly indeed erected villas and bungalows.'

dia teguh betul berpegang kepada agama. 'He steadfastly indeed clung to religion.'

orang éropah rapi memelihara rumahnja. 'Europeans take care of their houses carefully.'

keterangan meréka sangat saja hargakan. 'I appreciated their explanation very much?'

dia banjak makan. 'He eats a lot.'

dia sedikit makan. 'He eats little.'

ini sedikit besar. 'This is somewhat large.'

rakjat tjepat mengerdjakan apa jang beliau perintahkan.
'The people quickly did what he ordered.'

negeri tidak akan sempurna madju. 'The country will not advance perfectly.'

lingkungan tidak njata kelihatan. 'The surroundings were not clearly visible.'

dia lekas sembuh. 'He recovered quickly.'

dia terus berdjalan. 'He walked straight on.'

padi itu lambat berbuah. 'That rice ripens late.'

meréka ramai main. 'They play in great numbers.'

murah-murah didjual. 'It was being sold cheaply.'

256. The following are instances of the stronger form of the adverb-plus-verb construction:

dia membatja lantjar. 'He reads fluently'.

kami sembahjang radjin. 'We prayed diligently.'

dia berpegang teguh betul kepada agama. 'He clung steadfastly to religion.'

rakjat mengerdjakan tjepat apa jang beliau perintahkan. 'The people quickly did what he commanded.'

lasjkar berkelahi sungguh-sungguh di garis depan. 'The soldiers fought earnestly in the front lines.'

negeri tidak akan madju sempurna. 'The country will not advance perfectly.'

lingkungan tidak kelihatan njata. 'The surroundings were not clearly visible.'

dia sembuh lekas. 'He recovered quickly.'

dia berdjalan lambat. 'He walked slowly.'

ia datang agak lambat sedikit. 'He came somewhat late.'

dia menunggu lama-lama. 'He waited a very long time.'

ini besar sedikit. 'This is a little large.'

dia makan sedikit. 'He eats little.'

dia makan banjak. 'He eats a great deal.'

ini besar sangat. 'This is very large.'

dia makan sangat. 'He eats very much.'

anak ini tinggiamat. 'This child is very tall.'

dia berlari kentjang. 'He ran fast.'

anginpun bertiup kentjang. 'The wind blew hard.'

dia tahan lama. 'He endired it for a long time.'

dia bekerdja keras. 'He worked hard.'

dia beladjar keras. 'He studied hard.'

itu dilarang keras. 'That is strictly forbidden.'

tali itu diregangkannja kentjang-kentjang. 'That rope was tightened very hard by him.'

dia suka makan banjak-banjak. 'He likes to act a very great deal.'

diikatnja kuat-kuat. 'He tied it very strongly.'

ditekankan keras-keras. 'It was squeezed very hard.'

meréka bermain-main djauh-djauh. 'They were playing very far away.'

didjual murah-murah. 'It was sold very cheaply.'

embun turun perlahan-lahan. 'The mist descended slowly.'

257. Non-simple adverbs do not have a corresponding doubled form:

dia terus-terang mengatakan apa jang terasa dihatinja.

'He said frankly what he felt in his heart.'

258. Although many adverbs are associated with an adjective, the following are not:

dia bermurah hati memberi bantuan. 'He generously gave assistance.'

dia perlahan-lahan berdjalan. 'He walked slowly.'

usulnja ditolak mentah-mentah. 'The suggestion was rejected out of hand.' [Here mentah-mentah 'out of hand' is derived from mentah 'raw'; cf. daging itu dimakannja mentah(-mentah). 'That meat was eaten by him in a (very) raw state.']

kesukaran itu harus berpajah-pajah diatasi. 'Those difficulties will have to be overcome at great cost.'

orangpun tak tergopoh-gopoh bekerdja. 'People on the other hand do not work at breakneck speed.'

meréka bersusah-pajah menempuh djalan pikiran baru. 'They blazed the road of new ideas by dint of great effort.'

dia berdjerih-pajah mentjari keterangan. 'He energetically sought an explanation.'

259. In the following instance the simple adverb does not occur in the weaker order, but does in the stronger order. The meanings involved cannot be clearly determined.

anaknja baik-baik didjaga. 'His children are cared for (?very) carefully.'

anaknja didjaga baik-baik. 'His children are cared for (?very) carefully.'

anaknja didjaga baik. 'His children are well cared for.'

Diabatic-Goal Construction

260. Certain intransitives enter into construction with a noun expression to form the diabatic-goal construction. [This differs from the active-goal construction in that the goal cannot be nja.]:

perah-oto itu terlanggar sebuah batu. 'That truck hit a stone.'

batu itu kena kepalanja. 'That stone struck his head.'

kami naik perahu itu. 'We got on that boat.'

saja suka buku itu. 'I like that book.'

saja mau buku itu. 'I want that book.'

saja punja buku itu. 'I have that book.'

dia kena hukuman itu. 'He received that punishment.'

meréka gemar musik itu. 'They enjoyed that music.'

kaléng itu penuh minjak jang busuk. 'That can was filled with rancid oil.'

tempat itu kaja pohon-pononan jang besar. 'That place was rich in large trees.'

kampung itu terkenal barang-barang péral jang indah. 'That village was well-known for beautiful silver objects.'

kerandjang itu berisi batu jang besar. 'That basket was filled with large stones.'

261. For some intransitives the diabatic-goal construction competes with a construction between the same intransitive and an akan prepositional construction (but the latter, like most occurrences of akan prepositional constructions are almost completely literary):

binatang itu suka akan daging mentah. 'That animal likes raw meat.'

dia gemar akan makanan Eropah. 'He enjoys European food.'

saja haus akan pengalaman. 'I was thirsty for experience.'

dia ingat akan pesan ibunja. 'He kept his mother's request in mind.'

meréka ingin akan buah-buahan. 'They desire fruits.'

dia kaja akan anak. 'She has man (lit. is rich in) children.'

262. Certain intransitives form a diabatic-goal construction but only with indeterminate substantive expressions. In many instances the latter can also stand as topic attribute of the intransitive with the occurrent topic as genitive attribute.

kita akan selalu berselisih paham. 'We will always be of different opinions.' (cf. paham kita akan selalu berselisih.)

dia sudah berganti rupa. 'He had changed in appearance.' (cf. rupanja sudah berganti.)

dia sakit kepala. 'He had a headache.' (cf. kepalanja sakit.)

dia berlipat tangan. 'He folded his arms.'

meréka beradu keras suara. 'They entered into a contest of loudness of voice.'

empat negara besar sedang beradu tenaga. 'Four large states are currently in a test of strength.'

bininja mandi keringat. 'His wife was bathed in sweat.'

Pseudo-prepositions

263. A form of diabatic-goal construction involves the pseudo-prepositions: dalam, didalam 'inside', kedalam '(to) inside', dari dalam 'from inside', diatas 'above, over, on', keatas 'onto, (to) above, over', dariatas 'from above, over, on', dibawah 'under, below', kebawah '(to) under, below', dari bawah 'from under, below', disebelah, disamping 'beside', kesebelah, kesamping '(to) beside', dari sebelah, dari samping 'from beside', ditepi 'at the edge, beside', ketepi 'to the side, edge', dari tepi 'from the side, edge', ditengah 'in the middle', ketengah 'to the middle', dari tengah 'from the middle', ditengah-tengah 'in the center', ketengah-tengah 'to the center', dari tengah-tengah 'from the center', diluar

'outside', keluar '(to the) outside', dari luar 'from outside', dibelakang 'at the back, in back', kebelakang 'to the rear, back', dari belakang 'from the back, rear', didepan, dimuka 'in front', kedepan, kemuka 'to the front', dari depan, dari muka 'from in front', dekat, didekat 'near', dari dekat 'from near': e.g.

meréka didalam. 'They are inside.'

meréka didalam rumah. 'They are inside the house.'

The Casual Construction

264. A passive or certain intransitives as narrative predicators enter into a casual construction with a following noun expression as subject. In literary Indonesian tiada often appears in place of tidak ada.

tidak ada buku. 'There are no books.'

tiada buku. 'There are no books.'

tidak ada buku itu. 'That book isn't there.' (lit. 'There isn't that book.')

kelihatan Singapura. 'Singapore became visible.' (lit. 'There became visible Singapore.')

dibelinja buku. 'He bought some books.' (lit. 'There were bought by him some books.')

kami lihat pulau. 'We saw an island.' (lit. 'There was seen by us an island.)

265. The casual construction with ada of banjak can be constructed with a subject:

saja ada buku. 'I have a book.' (lit. 'I there is a book.')

saja banjak buku. 'I have many books.' (lit. 'I there are many books.')

Commutable Verb Expression Constructions

266. Certain verb expression sequences constitute a commutable verb expression construction. These are characterized by the absence of a intonational juncture between the members:

auto kami berlari berbélok-bélok. [auto kami berbélokbélok berlari.] 'Our car drove on turning and twisting.'

dia duduk berdiam diri. [dia berdiam diri duduk.] 'He sat in silence.'

kita berbaring-baring menunggu. [Kita menunggu berbaring-baring. 'We waited lying around.'

oto itu beriring-iringan pergi ke Tebing Tinggi. [oto itu pergi beriring-iringan ke Tebing Tinggi.] 'Those cars went to Tebing Tinggi arranged in a single file.'

ombak semakin besar bergulung-gulung. [ombak bergulung-gulung semakin besar.] 'The waves were rolling even bigger.'

kami berdjalan terus. [kami terus berdjalan.] 'We walked straight on, we began walking immediately.'

ikan lumba-lumba melontjat-longjat lari. [ikan lumba-lumba lari melontjat-lontjat.] 'The porpoises leaped as they swam (lit. ran).'

meréka bersama-sama mentjari kawannja. 'They sought their friend together.'

meréka mentjari kawannja bersama-sama. 'They looked for their friend together.'

267. The first of two verbal expressions is subordinated if it is accompanied by the rising intonation ↑ .

semua berbitjara ↑ menjalahkan kami ↓. 'All spoke and (lit. speaking) blamed us.'

oto itu beriring-iringan ↑ pergi ke Tebing Tinggi ↓. 'Those cars, arranged in single file, went to Tebing Tinggi.'

268. The second of two verbal expressions is attributive if the first has the falling intonation (with stress) and the second lacks one.

guru-guru itu buta melihat kemadjuan dunia modern. 'Those teachers are blind when looking at the advance of the modern world.'

orang itu diam ↓ menderita sakitnja. 'Those men were silent enduring their illness.'

ikan itu ketakutan ↓ melihat kapal. 'The first took fright on seeing the ship.'

saja mengeluh ↓ memandang daérah terbelakang itu. 'I sighed to see those backward provinces.'

meréka ngeri ↓ melihat laut. 'They were terrified to see the sea.'

rakjat disana akan girang ↓ mendengarkan suara Kjawa. 'The people there will be happy on hearing a Javanese voice.'

orang Tionghoa tidak berketjil hati ↓ mengalami kekatjauan dan tindakan tak bertanggung djawab dari orang-orang Indonésia. 'The Chinese did not take offense on experiencing the disturbances and the irresponsible actions of the Indonesians.'

saja tjemas ↓ melihat mendung jang hitam didepan. 'I was afraid on seeing the black cloud ahead.'

para penumpang sudah djemu ↓ memandangi langit. 'The passengers were bored with looking at the sky.'

meréka sendiri djidjik ↓ melihatnja. 'They themselves were revolted to see it.'

269. In such a sequence the subordinate phrase may have other implications:

perempuan sangat banjak ↓ diperbandingkan dengan djumlah lakilaki. 'The women were very numerous (if) compared with the total of men.' (condition)

djantung kami berdebar-debar kegirangan ↓ akan dapat mengindjakkan kaki ditanah djadjahan asing. 'Our hearts pounded with joy to be able to set foot on the land of foreign colony.'

270. If both of two succeeding verbal expressions have falling intonations, they are paratactic.

sifatnja berubah ↓ djadi kasar dan kurang adjar ↓ .

'Their character changed, became crude and ill-mannered.'

kami balik ↓ menurutkan kepala rombongan ke Lamno ↓ .

'We turned back (and) accompanied the head of the group to Lamno.'

The Dependent Verb Construction

271. Certain substantives and verbs form a dependent verb construction with a following expression which also occurs as a narrative predicate. Those which occur are either a simple verb expression or a verb expression in construction with an anticipative (akan, hendak; see 168).

With Substantive Head

272. There are two groups of substantives which appear as head in a dependent verb construction. In the first group are abstracts associated with intransitives (see 509 f.) which enter into a construction with a dependent narrative expression:

kesempatan mengarungi dunia 'the opportunity of traveling around the world' (sempat 'have the opportunity')

kepandaian menjususun pertahan 'skill in organizing defenses' (pandai 'skilled')

kesanggupan menginsafi tanggung-djawab 'the capability of realizing responsibility' (sanggup 'capable')

keinginan merampok 'desire to plunder' (ingin 'desire')

kebiasan pergi kepasar 'the habit of going to the market' (biasa 'be in the habit, customary')

ketjakapan menipu 'The ability to deceive' (tjakap 'able')

kemampuan membeli 'the ability to afford buying' (mampu 'be able to afford') pertempuran membéla 'struggle to defend' (bertempur 'struggle')

perdjalanan mengelilingi kampung 'trip (going) around the village' (berdjalan 'go, walk')

perdjandjian membajar 'a promise to pay (bardjandji 'promise')

273. Certain abstracts from verbs are similarly constructed with dependent prepositional phrases:

kepertjajaan kepada mati sjahid 'belief in a martyr's death (pertjaja 'believe')

274. In the second group are nouns not associated with intransitives as abstracts. The predicator expression states a purpose of the substantive:

usaha membina	' the effort to construct'
tenaga bekerdja	'energy to work'
muslihat mengulingkan musah	'tricks to overthrow the enemy'
perang mempertahankan kemerdékaannja	'a war to defend their independence'
ruangan menggambar	'hall for painting'

tangan akan mengusahakannja 'hangs to work it'

djalan pulang 'road to go home'

kepekatan menemui maut 'concentration on meeting death'

275. In the following the dependent verb expression states the composition or content of the head:

penjakit takut melihat laut 'disease of fearing to look at the sea'

kekurangan tidak berilmu 'the deficiency in being unlearned'

semangat berani mati 'the spirit of daring to die'

pendirian mau mati 'attitude of wanting to die'

perasaan takut dan kagum 'feeling of being afraid and astonished'

nafsu mentjari keuntungan 'desire of seeking profits'

hasrat berdiri 'the desire to stand'

276. Certain substantives (for the most part derivationally associated with verbs constructed with a clause) which are constructed with a verb expression are also constructed with a clause which states the

content of the head noun:

keterangan sudah disuntik 'certificate of having been vaccinated' (cf. keterangan meréka sudah disuntik 'a certificate that they had been vaccinated')

tanda tidak berani ' a sign of not being courageous' (cf. tanda meréka tidak berani. 'a sign that they were not courageous')

ingatan menjuruh 'the thought of ordering' (cf. ingatan dia menjuruh 'the thought that he ordered')

tjara menjusun perabot 'manner of arranging furniture'

tempat berkelahi 'place of fighting' (cf. tempat moréka berkelahi 'place they fought')

waktu mendaki 'time of climbing' 'cf. pada waktu meréka mendaki 'at the time they climbed')

277. A substantive-dependent verb construction can have a genitival attribute. Provided no other attribute is involved, the genitival attribute follows the substantive head:

kekurangannja tidak berilmu 'his lack in not being learned'

278. The dependent verb expression can be separated from the substantive

head by attributes of other head:

meréka tidak memberi kesempatan kepada orang-orang tani akan berpakaian sepantasnja. 'They did not give the peasants the opportunity to dress properly.'

279. Sometimes a predicate expression intervenes:

keinginan kami keras sekali akan melihat kota Singapura. 'Our desire to see the city of Sinapore was very firm.'

With Intransitive Head

280. Certain intransitives are constructed with a dependent verb preceded by an anticipative:

kapal-kapal itu sedia akan bertolak. 'Those ships are ready to sail.'

tangan dan telapak kakinja gatal-gatal akan berlajar. 'His hands and feet itched to sail.'

tangannja gatal-gatal hendak menindju dia. 'His hand itched to punch him.'

dia ingin hendak memukulnja. 'He desired to hit him.'

dia datang kemari hendak bertemu dengan abagnja. 'He came here to meet his older brother.'

ia sudah sanggup akan datang. 'He has undertaken to come.'

281. Similar intransitives are constructed with a dependent verbal expression without an anticipative. [This construction is very common with a head which means a motion of some kind and the dependent verb then indicates its purpose]:

kapal itu sudah sedia memuatnja. 'That ship is ready to take them on.'

dia ingin memukulnja. 'He desired to hit him.'

meréka berdiri menonton. 'They stood up to see.'

dia pergi melepaskannja. 'He went to release him.'

bupati Kotaradja datang mendjemput kami. 'The bupati of Kotaradja came to greet us.'

meréka sanggup merebut Singapura. 'They are capable of seizing Singapore.'

saja berkemas-kemas berangkat. 'I was packing up to leave.'

meréka berdjuang mengatasi tiap-tiap kesukaran. 'They struggled to overcome every obstacle.'

bangsa Indonésia tidak bertindak membéréskan keadaan itu. 'The Indonesian people did not take steps to clean up that condition.'

beliau bekerdja menjedarkan penduduk Tionghoa. 'He worked to make the Chinese population aware.'

kami singgah makan. 'We stopped off to eat.'

barisan berangkat menjerang Inggeris. 'The troops set off to attack the English.'

282. Some intransitives are constructed with a preposition-verbal construction:

alasan-alasan itu tjukup untuk menentukan bahwa ia tak bersalah. 'Those grounds were enough to establish that he was not guilty.'

283. Similar intransitives are constructed with a dependent verbal:

kata-kata tidak tjukup melukiskannja. 'Words do not suffice to picture it.'

otak meréka belum tjerdas berhitung. 'Their brains were not yet intelligent (enough) to do arithmetic.'

pemerintahan itu lebih tjakap mengatur negeri. 'The administration was more capable of running the country.'

itu terlalu djelék dibawa tuan Surjopuspito. 'That's (in) too bad (a condition) to be carried by Mr. S.'

dataran itu baik didjadikan sawah. 'That plain is good for being made into rice-fields.'

Sometimes the same intransitive can be constructed either with a verbal expression which is in construction with either an anticipative or an untuk plus verbal construction:

> kapal Amérika sudah sedia untuk bertempur. 'The American ship is ready for battle.'
>
> kapal Amérika sudah sedia akan bertempur. 'The American ship is ready to fight.'

284. Certain intransitive verbs form a dependent verb construction but are not (so far as is known) also constructed with a dependent verb preceded by an anticipative or with an untuk plus verbal construction. These thus resemble the auxiliaries and perhaps some of these belong with the auxiliaries (but see sub 'Auxiliaries' for the distinction):

> meréka tidak bimbang memenggal léhér pembesar-pembesarnja. 'They did not hesitate to cut the throats of their officials.'

dia tidak kuat berlari. 'He cannot run.'

meréka tidak rida menerima kita. 'They are not willing to receive us.'

dia sudah sudi datang. 'He is willing to come.'

dia malas kerdja. 'He did not feel like working.'

dia pandai berbitjara. 'He knew how to talk.'

meréka tidak enggan melakukannja. 'They were not unwilling to perform it.'

meréka mampu menerbitkan madjallah. 'They could afford to issue a journal.'

perbuatannja tidak sampai merugikan negara. 'His act did not result in causing a loss to the state.'

beliau ikut memimpin pertempuran. 'He took part in leading the battle.'

pengaruh beliau turut mengamankan Atjéh. 'His influence took part in pacifying Atjeh.'

meréka menumpang bermalam disitu. 'They spent the night there as guests.'

kepalanja mulai bertindak untuk keuntungan sendiri. 'Their chief began to take action for his own profit.'

dia selesai mentjutji tangan. 'He finished washing his hands.'

dia habis mentjutji tangan. 'He finished washing his hands.'

orang Tionghoa tidak keberatan membajarnja. 'The Chinese did not object to paying it.'

meréka berichtiar memelihara paberik. 'They planned to take care of the factory.'

guru itu terpaksa kerdja keras. 'That teacher was forced to work hard.'

285. With some intransitives the meaning of the dependent verb may indicate an action simultaneous with the head verb:

Pulau Bangka tampak terbentang disebelah timur. 'Bangka Island appeared spread out in the east.'

meréka duduk makan. 'They sat down to eat; they were sitting and eating.'

286. With some intransitives that mean 'return, cease', the dependent verb can also indicate an action which has ceased alternatively with purpose:

dia berhenti makan. 'He stopped eating., He stopped to eat.'

dia pulang mandi. 'He came home from bathing., He came home to bathe.'

dia kembali bekerdja. 'He returned from work., He returned to work.'

287. Sometimes the dependent verbal indicates the cause of the head:

saja beruntung mempunjai rumah semolek ini. 'I was lucky to have a house as pretty as this.'

badan saja dingin kehudjanan. 'My body was cold from having been caught in the rain.'

sebagian dari meréka mati terbunuh. 'Some of them were killed.' (lit. 'died being killed').

laut itu termasjhur permai. 'That sea was famous as being beautiful.'

Rakjat Atjéh terkenal patuh. 'The Achinese were well-known to be obedient.'

Daérah ini termasjhur makmur. 'This province is famous as being prosperous.'

engkau menjesal berpisahan dengan Ishak. 'You regret being separated from Ishak.'

dia malu berbadju itu kesekolah. 'He was embarrassed to wear that to school.'

or simple subsequent action:

kabut turun menjaputi kota Brastagi. 'The fog came down and enshrouded Brastagi.'

meréka tinggal makan minum. 'They stayed to eat and drink.'

or means:

sebagian besar hidup menindas rakjat. 'A large portion lived by oppressing the people.'

288. Certain intransitives which are constructed with a goal are also constructed with a dependent narrative predicator:

ia beladjar mengetik. 'He is learning to type.'

dia berlatih menulis tjepat. 'He is practicing to write fast.'

meréka takut mati. 'They were afraid to die.'

meréka lupa memperhitungkan dengan otaknja. 'They forget how to reckon with their brains.'

dia tahan menderita. 'He can stand suffering.'

ia tidak tahu melaksanakannja. 'He did not know how to effect it.'

With Active Transitive Head

289. Certain active transitives are constructed with a dependent predicator expression:

> meréka meminta turut. 'They asked to go along.'
>
> meréka mentjoba tertawa. 'They tried to laugh.'
>
> meréka memulai mengerahkan tenaga pemuda. 'They began to call on the strength of the youth.'
>
> saja minta balik. 'I requested (to be allowed) to turn back.'

290. If the dependent predicator expression is an anticipated event, it is sometimes preceded by supaja, or, if negative, by supaja...djangan.

> dia mendjaga supaja dapat berhasil baik. 'He took care to be able to have a good result.'
>
> meréka mendjaga supaja djangan kekurangan wang. 'They took care not to be short of money.

Transitives and Goals

291. A transitive active is either a one-goal transitive or a two-

goal transitive. A two-goal transitive can be constructed with two noun expressions as goals, the first of which is indirect and the second direct:

dia membelikan anaknja badju. 'He bought a garment for his child.'

dia telah sudi memberi saja pelbagai keterangan. 'He has agreed to give me various explanations.'

pengembaraan itu memberinja pemandangan jang luas. 'That roving gave him a broad outlook.'

itu tidak memberi pemuda itu persiapan ilmu. 'That did not give the youth a scientific preparation.'

perubahan itu memberi kita ketjakapan untuk menjelaraskan diri. 'That change gave us the ability to adapt ourselves.'

tangkapkan aku bajan itu. 'Catch that bajan (bird) for me.'

A one-goal transitive is constructed only with a single noun expression a direct goal:

dia membeli badju. 'He bought a garment.'

292. A two-goal transitive is sometimes constructed with a single goal, this goal being direct:

dia membelikan badju. 'He bought a garment [for...].'

Dependent Clauses

293. A dependent clause is a clause which consists of a predicator expression with (? diri,) dirinja, or nja as subject or is in the same form class with such a predicator expression and follows directly upon the preceding head without separation.

294. Certain narrative predicators are constructed with a dependent clause.

295. With an intransitive narrative predicator the subject cannot be nja and perhaps also not diri:

meréka merasa dirinja pintar. 'They thought themselves skillful.'

kami merasa meréka sanggup. 'We feel them capable.' [cf. kami merasa/ meréka sanggup. 'We feel that they are capable.']

dia ingin saja pergi. 'He wanted me to go.'

dia bentji saja bekerdja. 'He hated to have me work.'

296. With a transitive predicator:

dia mengatakan dirinja siap. 'He declared himself ready.'

lasjkar-lasjkar rakjat memandang dirinja wadjib pula memeréksa. 'The people's militia regarded themselves as obligated to make and examination.'

pradjurit itu melarangnja ikut. 'That soldier forbade him to go along.'

kami memboléhkannja ikut. 'We allowed them to come along.'

itu memaksanja mesti berpikir keras. 'That forced him to [have to] think hard.'

saja mendengarkannja menguraikan isi dadanja. 'I listened to him explain what was in his hear.' (lit. 'the contents of his chest')

semua orang menjesali dia mengirimkan anaknja ke Éropah itu (assuming that saja menjesalinja mengirimkan... and saja menjesali dirinja mengirimkam... are possible and similarly for the following.)

dia meminta saja ikut. 'He asked me to follow.'

meréka menjuruh kami berdiri. 'They ordered us to stand.'

kami mengadjar meréka melaksakannja. 'We taught them to execute it.'

guru itu melatih kanak-kanak mempergunakan materi. 'Those teachers trained the children to use the material.'

sedjarah menakdirkan bangsa Melaju akan menemui zaman kemunduran. 'History destined the Malay people to face a period of backwardness.'

gerak badan akan mentjerdaskan bangsa Indonésia djadi bangsa dinamis. 'Physical training will increase the intelligence of the Indonesian people so that they become dynamic people.'

pemimpin-pemimpin ita membuat sedjarah tanah airnja gemilang. 'Those leaders are making the history of their fatherland glorious.'

engkau membuat aku takut. 'You make me afraid.'

dengan bermain sport manusai membiasakan badannja tunduk kepada kemauannja. 'By engaging in sports the human being habituates his body to bow to his will.'

laut gelaop bagaikan memanggil-manggil saja akan ditelannja.' 'The dark sea as it were was summoning me to be swallowed up by it.'

pengawal mentjegahkan kami meneruskan perdjalanan. 'The leader forbade us to continue the journey.'

kami melihat-lihat nelajan menangkap ikan. 'We watched the fishermen catching fish.'

saja mendengarkan orang banjak memekékkan "Merdéka". 'I listened to the common people shouting "Merdeka".

lumpur bergetah itu melambatkan oto itu berdjalan. 'That sticky mud slowed the car from going.'

perairan Nusantara menggentarkan sebagian besar bangsa Indonésia akan melajarinja. 'The waters of the Archipelago frighten a large part of the Indonesian people from sailing on it.'

pembawaan beliau menjebabkan kita hormat. 'His bearing made us respectful.'

makanan itu menguatkan badannja bekerdja diladang. 'That food strengthens their body to work in the field.'

meréka tidak mau mengerakkan badan mengerdjakan jang produktif. 'They did not want to move the body to do something productive.'

meréka tidak mengerahkan semua tenaganja berdjuang. 'They did not summon all their energy to struggle.'

297. The negative is djangan, preceded or not by supaja, if the dependent clause indicates an anticipated event:

saja mendjaga kaki djangan kedinginan. 'I took care that my feet did not get too cold.'

meréka mendjage bahasa Indonésia supaja djangan katjau. 'They took care that the Indonesian language did not become confused.'

dia menasihatkan saja djangan memakai topi. 'He advised me not to wear a hat.'

298. The dependent clause can have a noun expression as predicator:

> meréka mendjadikan rakjat perkakasnja. 'They made the people their tool.'

299. The dependent clause need not contain a subject attribute. The clause then resembles a dependent predicator expression, except that the subject of the head predicator is not referred to (as subject) by the head of the dependent clause:

> guru itu mengadjar membatja. 'The teacher teaches reading.'

> dia mengadjarkan berhitung kepada murid-murid baru. 'He teaches arithmetic [doing calculations] to the new pupils.'

> meréka tidak mengizinkan bermain djudi. 'They did not permit gambling.'

> meréka memutuskan, akan menjerahkan mandatnja kepada présidén. They decided that [they] would surrender their mandate to the president.'

Active-Passive Transformations

300. A transitive one-goal active-direct goal construction transforms into a subject-predicate construction with a passive predicator.

dia menulis buku itu. 'He wrote that book.' buku ita ditulisnja.

301. A transitive two-goal active-indirect goal-direct goal transforms into a subject-predicator-goal construction.

dia memberi Ali buku itu. 'He gave Ali that book.'

→ Ali diberinja buku itu. 'Ali was given that book.'

302. Certain two-goal transitives are also transformed like one-goal transitives:

dia menundjukkan Ali buku itu. 'That man showed Ali that book.'

→ Ali ditundjukkannja buku itu. 'Ali was shown that book by him.'

and → buku itu ditundjukkannja kepada Ali. 'That book was shown by him to Ali.'

and → buku itu ditundjukkan Ali oléhnja. 'That book was shown to Ali by him.'

303. An active transitive verb-dependent clause construction with the exception of a dependent clause with the diri(nja) as subject is transformed into a subject-passive-dependent predicator construction in which the subject of the dependent clause is the subject of the passive.

dia meminta saja ikut. 'He asked me to follow.'

———> saja dimintanja ikut. 'I was asked by him to follow.'

meréka menjuruh kami berdiri. 'They ordered us to stand.'

———> kami disuruhnja berdiri. 'We were ordered to stand.'

dia memerintah kita pergi. 'He commanded us to go.'

———> kita diperintahnja pergi. 'We were commanded to go.'

dia mengatakan dirinja siap. 'He said he was ready.'

dia [sendiri] dikatakannja siap. 'He himself said he was ready' (lit. 'he himself was said by him ready).

dia mengadjari anak-anak berdjalan. 'He taught the children to walk.'

———→ anak-anak diadjarinja berdjalan. 'The children were taught by him to walk.'

dia mengadjak penumpang lain bertjakap-tjakap. 'He invited the other passengers to talk.'

———→ penumpang lain diadjaknja bertjakap-tjakap. 'The other passengers were invited by him to talk.'

304. If dirinja is the subject of the dependent clause, there is no transformation.

Report-Quote Construction

305. Certain verbs (alone or as heads) are constructed with a goal to form a report-quote construction:

dia mengatakan↑ „itu anak saja." 'He said, "That is my child."'

dia menanjakan↑ „apa itu anak saja." 'He asked, "Is that my child?"'

dia menjuruh „pergi lah." 'He ordered, "Go!"'

306. The quote of the report-quote construction is often indirect. Indirect statements are optionally introduced by bahwa. Simple indirect questions have the same structure as direct questions, and indirect commands have the same structure as commands, and are optionally introduced by supaja:

dia mengatakan itu anaknja. 'He said that that was his child.'

dia menanjakan ↑ apa itu anaknja. 'He asked whether that was his child.'

dia menjuruh (supaja) pergi. 'He commanded that they go.'

dia menjuruh (supaja) tulislah. 'He ordered that (they) write it.'

Dependent Clauses in Casual Predications

307. In casual predications (without a following subject) an intransitive and some passives can be constructed with a follwoing dependent

clause:

baik pergi. 'It is good to go, one should go.'

tidak baik pergi. 'It is not good to go.'

baik kita pergi. 'It is good for us to go.'

tidak baik kita pergi. 'It is not good for us to go.'

ditetapkan akan diadakan rapat. 'It was decided to hold a meeting.'

ditentukan kita datang setiap hari. 'It was decided that we would come every day.'

308. The sequence Intransitive + Subject + Predicator Expression is transformable into the sequence Subject + Intransitive + Predicator Expression:

kita baik pergi. 'We should go.'

kita tidak baik pergi. 'We shouldn't go.'

rapat itu ditetapkan akan dimulai djam 8. 'That meeting was decided to be begun at eight o'clock.'

kita ditentukan datang setiap hari. 'It was decided that we would come every day.'

309. A passive without an agent attribute is an unspecified passive. An unspecified passive can be substituted for a specified passive (i.e. the noun expression specifying the agent can be omitted.):

ia disuruh gurunja kekantor pos. 'He was told by his teacher to go to the post office.'

⟶ ia disuruh kekantor pos. 'He was told to go to the post office.'

Verbal Substantives

310. A certain class of words occurs as subject of adverbial expressions (as well as other types of predicates) and do not occur as predicators. These words (being derived in each case from an intransitive verb with a suffix nja) are verbal substantives:

tinggalnja tidak lama. 'The (or his) stay was not long.'

perginja tidak kemarin. 'The (or his) going was not yesterday.'

311. Such verbal substantives can be followed by an attributive substantive expression in formal Indonesian (but do not appear in Medan colloquial):

tinggalnja kawan saja tidak lama. 'My friend's stay was not long.'

312. The peN- verbal substantive, associated with the transitive inflection (see 244, 488), appears in Radjab, but only in construction with untuk to form an infinitive phrase:

untuk pelupakan hasrat kami kami bersenda-gurau. 'To distract ourselves from our desire we joked.'

Reportorial Verbal Substantives

313. Reportorial verbal substantives (meaning "saying," "asking," "com-

manding," etc.) are commonly the subject with a direct quotation as predicate. These differ from other verbal nouns in that they can be followed by a noun expression (in any dialect). In this way reportorial verbal nouns resemble other nouns. As far as is known however quotative verbal nouns do not occur as predicators.

kata saja „tidak." 'I said "No!"'

tanja Ridwan „apa?" 'Ridwan asked "What?"'

suruhnja „pergi!"' 'He said "Go!"'

314. Reportorial verbal substantives are also constructed with indirect quotations as predicators:

katanja bukan dia. 'He said it was not he.'

tanjanja dia kemana. 'He asked where he went.'

suruhnja saja datang. 'He ordered that I should come.'

315. They are furthermore constructed with other predicators:

kata tuan itu sebenarnja. 'What you say is true.'

Adverbial Expressions

316. An adverbial expression is the predicate or predicate head which enters into construction with a verbal expression as subject. In the following the verbal expression pergi 'go' and perginja 'his going' are respectively the subject of baik 'good'.

pergi ↑ baik. 'It is good to go.'

pergi ↑ tidak baik. 'It is not good to go.'

perginja ↑ baik. 'His going was a good thing.'

perginja ↑ tidak baik. 'His going was not a good thing.'

Pseudo-clauses

317. In Medan colloquial a predicator with a preceding non-determinate nominal form a pseudo-clause which in turn enters into a subject-predicate construction with an adverbial expression as well as other types of predicates. A pseudo-clause can have a demonstrative as an attribute:

dia pergi (itu) ↑ kemarén. 'His going was yesterday.'

dia pergi (itu) ↑ tidak kemarén. 'His going was not yesterday.'

saja pergi (ini) ↑ baik. '(This) my going is a good thing.'

kawan saja pergi (ini)↑tidak baik. '(This) my friend's going is not a good thing.'

dia ketua itu↑(tidak) baik. 'His being chairman is (not) a good thing.'

[It should be observed that bukan$_1$ occurs with a word like kemarén in: hari selasa bukan kemarén. 'Tuesday was not yesterday.' as in answer to the question apa hari selasa kemarénkah? 'Was Tuesday yesterday?]

318. A pseudo-clause is not determinate if its pseudo-subject is determinate:

rumah itu didirikan tidak lama. 'That house's being erected did not take long.' [cf. rumah didirikan (itu) tidak lama. 'The house's being erected did not take long.]

Predicate Particles

319. A predicator expression forms a predicate with a predicate particle. The predicate particles are djuga 'also, anyhow', sadja 'just, only', lagi 'again, more', pula 'also'.

dia datang djuga.	'He came too; he came anyhow.'
dia datang sadja.	'He did no more than come.'
dia datang lagi.	'He came again.'
dia tidak datang lagi.	'He did not come anymore.'
dia datang pula.	'He came too, anyhow.'

320. In the Medan colloquial bukan is replaced by tidak in combination with the predicate particle lagi:

dia tidak ketua lagi. 'He is not chairman anymore.'

[Cf. the standard: dia bukan ketua lagi.]

321. Predicational attributes occur in the following subclasses: (1) clause connectors, (2) clause closers, (3) adjunct expressions.

1. Clause Connectors

322. The clause connectors are dan 'and', tetapi, tapi 'but'.

dan dia tidak mau. 'And he did not want to.'

tetapi dia suka. 'But he liked it.'

2. Clause Closers

323. Clause closers are enclitic or non-enclitic. The enclitic clause closers are kah 'question particle', lah 'emphatic particle', tah 'rhetorical question particle':

itukah buku saja? 'Is that my book?'

itulah buku saja. 'That's my book.'

berapatah jang sudah pergi? 'How many, I ask, have gone?'

324. The non-enclitic clause closers are (1) attitudinal particles or (2) relational particles.

Attitudinal Particles

325. Attitudinals are (1) volitives, (2) expostulative, (3) dubitative, (4) contradictory.

326. The volitive particles are biar 'let', djangan 'let not',

moga-moga 'would that', djangan-djangan '(I) fear that'; alangkah 'how...!'

biar dia pergi. 'Let him go.'

biar kaulah jang punja. 'Do you be the one to have it.'

djangan dia pergi. 'Let him not go; don't let him go.'

djangan saja diganggu. 'Let me not be disturbed.'

moga-moga (mudah-mudahan) dia pergi. 'I hope he goes.'

djangan-djangan dia pergi. 'I hope that he isn't going away.'

kalau-kalau dia sudah pergi. 'I fear that he has gone.'

327. The expostulative particle is alangkah. It occurs with a predicator that is a characterizer and followed by nja:

alangkah besarnja rumah itu. 'How big that house is!'

and also when not so followed:

alangkah besar hasrat saja: 'How great was my desire!'

328. The dubitative particles are apa, apakah 'question particle', and kan (only colloquial) 'argumentative particle':

apa dia pergi? 'Did he go?'

kan dia pergi! 'I thought he went!'

329. The contradictory particles are bukan$_2$, bukannja. These are generally mutually substitutable, differing only in that bukannja is more emphatic:

bukan (bukannja) dia pergi. 'He did not go (as you assume).'

330. The particles apa, kan, bukan$_2$, bukannja also occur after the subject (and before the predicate:)

dia apa pergi? 'Did he go'

dia kan pergi! 'I thought he went!'

dia bukan(nja) pergi. 'He didn't go (as you assume).'

331. bukan$_1$ is replaced by tidak in Medan colloquial immediately following bukan$_2$(nja):

ini bukan(nja) tidak rumah saja. It isn't true that this is not my house (as you assume).'

332. The particle bukan (and not bukannja) is attached to a subsentence sequence as a final subsentence (to form a sentence implying the belief of the speaker in the truth of the preceding subsentence):

dia pergi | bukan? 'He went, didn't he?'

Relater Constructions

333. A relater and a clause constitute a relater construction. The relaters are: agar, agar supaja, supaja 'in order that', apalagi 'particularly because', asal 'if only', biarpun, meskipun, walaupun 'although, despite the fact that', bila 'when, if', bilamana 'whenever', mulai dari 'beginning from', djangankan 'let alone, not to mention', djika, djikalau, kalau 'if, when', hingga, sehingga 'until, with the result that', jang 'that', kalau-kalau 'whether by chance', karena, sebab 'because', ketika 'when', padahal 'in spite of the fact that', sampai 'until, so that', sedang 'while, whereas', sedangkan 'whereas',

seketika 'at the time that, when', selagi 'while', selama 'while', seperti 'as', sedjak, semendjak 'since', setiap, tiap, tiaptiap 'whenever', sewaktu, waktu 'when'.

334. Some relater constructions are predicators; as such they are (like any predicator clause) non-negatable:

sebapnja karna dia sakit. 'The reason is that (lit. because) he was sick.'

terdjadinja sedang saja pergi. 'The occurrence was while I was away.'

waktunja bila saja makan. 'The time was when I ate.'

sjaratnja kalau dia datang. 'The condition was that (lit. if) he came.'

Adjuncts

335. Adjunct attributes are (1) clauses, (2) relater expressions, (3) adverbial expressions, (4) absolute nominals (including akan

attributes). Examples are:

1. clauses:

   dia datang↑ saja pergi. '(When) he came, I went.'

2. relater clause:

   bila dia datang↑ saja pergi. 'When he came, I went.'

3. adverbial expression:

   kawan saja datang hari ini. 'My friend came today.'

336. A type of adjunct is the absolute nominal expression. The absolute nominal expression is a preceding appositional attribute to a pronoun in a predication:

kawan saja↑ dia↑ tidak mau pergi↓. 'My friend, he did not want to go.'

Amat↑ rumahnja↑ tidak besar↑. 'As for Amat his house is not large.'

337. An explicit absolute nominal expression is formed with the attributive particle akan:

akan mandur itu sungguh orang bodoh. 'As for that manager (he) is certainly a foolish person.'

338. If the subject precedes the predicator expression, the clause is in *normal order*. If part of the predicator expression precedes the subject, the clause is in *inverted order*.

339. If the subject follows the whole of the predicator expression, the clause is in *completely inverted order*. Otherwise the clause is in *partly inverted order*.

340. In a completely inverted clause the subject follows a stress with falling intonation:

baik↓ buku itu. 'That book is good.'

So also with a clause (cf. also 317):

baik↓ dia pergi. 'It was good that he went.'

disitulah↓ didjumpainja. 'It was there that he found it.'

341. In a partly inverted clause the subject is enclitic to an unstressed or stressed (but without a falling intonation) part of the predicator expression:

sudah saja pergi. 'I have already gone.'

sudah saja pergi. 'I have already gone.'

The Seriation Construction

342. The conjunctions are dan 'and' and atau (archaic atawa) 'or'. They form seriation constructions with two or more members of the same form-class (other than conjunctions). A conjunction can precede each member after the first but the earlier of two instances of the same conjunction is generally omitted:

dibelinja kertas dan (atau) tinta. 'He bought paper and (or) ink.

dia makan dan (atau) minum. 'He ate and (or) drank.'

dibelinja buku (dan) kertas dan tinta. 'He bought a book (and) paper and ink.

dibelinja buku (atau) kertas atau tinta. 'He bought a book (or) paper or ink.'

III. Morphology

Terminology

343. A word is an immediate constituent in a construction or occurs with a final contour. A word is monomorphemic if it contains only one morpheme: surat 'letter'. Otherwise it is polymorphemic: surat-surat (plural + letter) 'letters', surat kabar (letter + news) 'newspaper'.

344. A free morpheme sequence is a word in some of its appearances.

345. In a polymorphemic word a free morpheme sequence is an included free morpheme sequence: e.g. surat in surat kabar. By convention an included free morpheme sequence is referred to by the syntactic class (substantive, intransitive, etc.) to which it belongs when not so included.

346. In a polymorphemic word a bound morpheme which is in the same substitution class as an included free morpheme is a bound root; in berdagang 'to trade' dagang is a bound root because it is not a free morpheme, and is a member of the same substitution class as gerak in bergerak 'to move', gerak being a free morpheme. Since by convention

included free morphenes will be referred to by their syntactic category as words (see above), bound roots will be referred to in the following simply as 'roots'.

347. In a polymorphemic word a bound morpheme which is not a root is an affix: -kan in panaskan 'to heat'.

348. If one of the immediate constituents of a polymorphemic word is an affix, the word is complex; panaskan is a complex word. Otherwise it is compound; surat kabar is a compound word.

Compound Words

349. The immediate constituents of a compound word are its members.

350. If the morpheme which appears as a member of a compound is phonemically undistinguished from itself as a member of a compound (as far as I know), the distinction between a construction and a compound is difficult to demonstrate. Nevertheless a difference in the immediate constituents is found in the sequence buku sekolah besar which has

the two meanings: (1) 'book of a large school' and (2) 'big school books'. The difference in meaining between these two is sufficiently great so that (2) can be said to have as an immediate constituent the first constituent of the sequence (3) buku sekolah sekolah besar 'school-book of a large school', whereas (1) has as an immediate constituent the last constituent of (3) (i.e. sekolah besar).

351. These two sequences are sometimes distinguished by a suspended contour at the end of the first constituent (buku--sekolah besar, 'book of a large school') if the second element is a genitive attribute (see 204 f.), but this distinction is not known to be constant. A similar ambiguity appears in the sequence tempat tidur (1) bed, (2) place to sleep. The first occurs in tempat tidur saja whereas the second occurs in tempat saja tidur ('place I sleep') 'where I sleep'. Here however it is possible to assign tempat tidur to 'bed' and tempat--tidur to 'place of sleeping.'

352. A compound is classed (1) by the part-of-speech to which it belongs and subordinately (2) by the relation between its members.

353. Although probably no compound has the identical distribution with other words as any of its members, some compounds approach having this feature more closely than others. The possession and lack of this feature is utilized as a criterion.

354. If a compound belongs essentially to the same total substitution class as only one of its members, the relation between its members is endocentric: surat kabar is endocentric because it belongs essentially to the same substitution class as surat 'letter'.

355. If a compound belongs essentially to the same total substitution class as more than one of its members, it is a serial compound: piring mangkok (dish - bowl) 'dishes' belongs essentially to the same substitution class as both piring and mangkok.

356. If a compound belongs essentially to the same substitution class as none of its members, it is an exocentric compound:

sapu tangan (wipe - hand) belongs essentially neither to the substitution class of sapu nor to that of tangan. Of course tangan belongs to a same substitution class with sapu tangan. By essentially the same substitution class is meant in the highest possible number of environments, as might be indicated by such a sentence as: sapu tangan itu satu matjam tangan. The fact that this sentence makes no sense implies the consequence of substituting tangan for sapu tangan in the sentence sapu tangannja dilipatkannja pada tepinja or in sapu tangannja diseterikakannja. On the other hand, this discrepancy is not observed if we say surat kabar satu matjam surat and it is less painful to substitute surat for surat kabar in sentences like those cited above. The same reasoning applies in the case of piring mangkok 'dishes'.

Pronoun Compounds

357. The pronoun compounds are few in number. There is (1) a serial compound: ini itu 'this and that'; (2) an endocentric compound: segala sesuatu (all + one-thing-or-another) 'everything'; and (3) and exocentric compound: segala apa (all + what) 'everything'.

Substantive Compounds: Exocentric

358. The exocentric substantive compounds are (1) combinative, (2) action-goal, (3) possessive, (4) phrasal.

359. A combinative exocentric substantive compound is one which contains two members of the same class. The members may be (1) substantives, (2) verbs, (3) roots:

360. The members are substantives:

tanah air (earth + water) 'homeland'

pokok pangkal (trunk + base) 'main point'

kaki tangan (foot + hand) 'assistant, lieutenant'

361. The members are verbs:

lalu-lintas (to pass + to cross) 'traffic'

362. The members are roots:

senda-gurau (joke + joke) 'joke'

363. The first member is a root and the second a transitive base:

sangkutpaut (catch + related) 'relation, entanglement'

364. The members are transitive bases:

tegur-sapa (engage in conversation + engage in conversation)
'effort to engage in conversation'

harbu-biru 'confusion'

haru-hara 'confusion'

365. In the action-goal exocentric substantive compounds the first member is also a transitive base and the second member is also a noun:

sapu tangan (sweep + hand) 'handkerchief'

gosok gigi (rub + tooth) 'toothpaste'

goréng ajam (fry + chicken) 'fried chicken' (as a course)

terima kasih (accept + love) 'thanks'

tanggung-djawab (support + answer) 'responsibility'

366. The possessive exocentric substantive compounds are (1) substantive-numeral and (2) numeral-substantive:

367. The substantive-numeral type is exemplified by the following:

segi tiga (side/corner + three) 'triangle'

kaki lima (foot + five) 'pavement'

kaki tiga (foot + three) 'tripod'

368. The numeral-substantive type is exemplified by the following:

empat persegi (four + square) 'a square'

369. The phrasal exocentric substantive compounds have as their first member a noun which means a relative position.

belakang hari (back + day) 'future'

tengah hari (middle + day) 'noon'

tengah malam (middle + night) 'midnight'

Endocentric

370. Endocentric substantive compounds are serial if both members are heads. Otherwise they are attributive.

371. Serial endocentric compounds contain two members each of which appears otherwise as a substantive and the meaning is collective. Sometimes the two members exhaust the parts of the 'collection', as

in the following:

ibu bapa (mother + father) 'parents'

anak bini (child + wife) 'biological family' (of man)

kiri kanan (left + right) 'both sides'

sehari semalam (one-day + one-night) 'a full day'

and in some instances they exemplify members of the 'collection':

nenek mojang (grandparent + great-grandparent) 'ancestors'

selimut kasur (blanket + mattress) 'bedding'

piring mangkok (dish + bowl) 'dishes'

kerap-kerup (munching sound + munching sound) 'munching sounds'

372. In some serial compounds the meaning is 'alternative' rather than 'collective'. These involve a numeral compound as one member, the second member being a numeral or lebith:

sedjam dua (one-hour + two) 'an hour or two'

seribu orang lebih (a-thousand [+ human] + more) 'a thousand people or more'.

373. In an attributive substantive compound one of the members is an attribute. There are two varieties: (1) attribute-head and (2) head-attribute.

374. The attribute-head type appears only in a few instances:

bumiputera (land + prince) 'native'

brén-gun 'Bren gun'

tommy-gun 'Tommy gun'

375. The head-attribute substantive compound is overwhelmingly the more common type. The attributive member also appears as (1) a substantive, (2) a verb or only appears as (3) a root or as (4) a nonce-occurring morpheme sequence.

376. If the attribute also appears as a substantive the meaning of the head in most substantive compounds is grossly the same as its meaning when outside of a compound:

kaju api (wood + fire) 'firewood'

hasil bumi (product + earth) 'produce'

tanda mata (sign + eye) 'souvenir'

anakgadis (child - girl) 'unmarried daughter'

379. In some head-attribute substantive compounds the head appears to have a somewhat different meaning from that which it has when occurring independently. Very often a metaphor is involved.

378. anak 'offspring' appears with the meanings 'a small analog' in anak sungai (child + river) 'small river, tributary' and 'the smaller, more mobile member of two parts' in anak kuntji (child + key/lock) 'key' and anak panah (child + bow-and-arrow) 'arrow'.

379. ibu 'mother', induk 'dam' appear with the meanings 'a chief instance' in the following:

ibu kota (mother + city) 'capital'

ibu djari (mother + finger) 'thumb'

ibu sungai (mother + river) 'main river'

induk karangan (dam + article) 'chief article'

380. pokok 'point, basis' appears with the meaning 'a chief instance' in pokok sebab 'chief reason'.

381. mata 'eye' appears with the meaning 'source' in:

mata air (eye + water) 'spring'

mata angin (eye + wind) 'wind-direction'

matahari (eye + day) 'sun'

with the meaning 'the operative part' in:

mata pisau (eye + knife) 'knife-edge'

mata djari (eye + finger) 'finger-joint'

and with metaphorical meanings in:

mata ikan (eye + fish) 'pimple'

mata sapi (eye + cow) 'eggs sunny-side-up'

mata rantai (eye + chain) 'link'

mata uang (eye + money) 'coin'

mata tjintjin (eye + ring) 'ring-gem'

382. bekas 'trace' appears with the meaning 'ex-, former' very commonly as in bekas guru 'ex-teacher'.

383. In some head attribue compounds the substantive attribute appears to have a somewhat different meaning from that which it has when occurring independently as in anak buah (child + fruit) 'subject, subordinate member of group [e.g. crew, extended family, clan] for which there is a leader'.

384. Some endocentric substantive compounds with a substantive attribute are difficult to distinguish formally from serial compounds.

Thus kopi susu (coffee + milk) can be 'coffee with milk' or 'coffee and milk'. Similarly kapal lajar (ship + sail) 'sailing ship' could be viewed as being either 'ship and sail' or 'ship with/by sail'. However for such compounds as these it is possible to find sentences such as kapal lajar satu matjam kapal 'a sailing ship is a kind of ship', kopi susu satu matjam kopi 'coffee and milk is a kind of coffee' whereas such sentences are impossible for either member of the serial compounds. [The same applies in the case of barat laut (west + sea) 'northwest' and timur laut (east + sea) 'northeast'.]

385. A substantive compound containing a verb attribute is descriptive if the attributive member appears as the predicator of a jang-phrase attribute of the head in a phrase with a meaning like that of the compound. Other substantive compounds are described as dependent. Thus kapal terbang (ship + fly) 'airplane' is a descriptive substantive compound because there is the phrase kapal jang terbang 'ship which flies' and similarly gambar hidup (picture + live) 'moving pictures' because of gambar jang hidup 'picture which lives'. On the other

hand, for rumah sakit (house + be sick) 'hospital' there is no such construction with a similar meaning. It is consequently a dependent substantive.

386. The verb attribute in a substantive compound also appears as (1) a transitive base or (2) as an intransitive.

387. Dependent substantive compounds with transitive base attributes are exemplified by kamar periksa (room + examine) 'examination room', kaju bakar (wood + burn) 'firewood', ruangan tenun (space + weave) 'weaving room', rumah makan (house + eat) 'restaurant'. Those with an intransitive are exemplified by pintu masuk (door + enter) 'entrance', rumah sakit (house + ill) 'hospital', tempat tidur (place + sleep) 'bed'. The attribute may itself have an attribute: tanah tumpah darah (land + spill + blood) 'fatherland'; badju belah dada (upper garment + split + chest) 'bolero'.

388. Descriptive substantive compounds with a transitive base attribute are not common. The attribute is in most cases passive: anak angkat (child + lift) 'adopted child', anak dapat (child + obtain) 'foundling'. In some instances it is active: tukang djual (one--who + sell) 'salesman'; such attributes may themselves be accompanied

by a goal attribute: tukang djual obat (one-who + sell + medicine) 'medicine salesman', ilmu ukur ruang (science + measure + space) 'solid geometry'. Descriptive substantive compounds with an intransitive as attribute are very common; they are exemplified by gambar hidup (piture + live) 'moving pictures', kapal terbang (ship + fly) 'airplane', rakjat umum (people + general) 'public', orang tua (person + old) 'parent'.

389. Substantive compounds in which the attributive member is a root are minjak wangi (oil + perfume) 'perfume', djalan raja (road + great) 'highway', kerdja sama (work + together) 'cooperation', buku lali (joint + lose consciousness) 'ankle', rakjat djelata (people + ?) 'masses'.

390. Both elements are roots in pantjaindera (five + sense) 'five senses'.

391. In pamong pradja (guardian + ,) 'civil servant', the second element pradja appears to contain radja 'king'.

Verb Compounds

392. Verb compounds are (1) exocentric or (2) endocentric.

Exocentric Verb Compounds

393. Exocentric verb compounds are (1) possessive, or (2) phrasal, or (3) paired.

Possessive Verb Compounds

394. The possessive exocentric verb compounds are (1) verb + substantive, and (2) substantive + verb.

395. The verb + substantive type is exemplified by mérah muka (red + face) 'be red-faced, embarrassed', besar hati (big + liver) 'cheerful, proud', hilang akal (disappear + resource) 'be at a loss'. With these belong the compounds with se- 'one' as their first element: sepelajaran (one + voyage) 'co-voyaging, be on the same voyage', serumah (one + house) 'live in the same house', sesekolah (one + school) 'go to the same school'. The first member may be a root: anéka warna (various + color) 'varicolored, motley'. The second member is a transitive base: setudju (one + head-for) 'agree', serikat (one + tie) 'united'.

396. The substantive + verb type is exemplified by darah putih (blood + white) 'be of noble blood', segi empat (angle/side + four) 'four-sided', kepala dua (head + two) 'two-headed'.

Phrasal Verb Compounds

397. The phrasal type is exemplified by luarbiasa (outside + usual) 'unusual, extraordinary' tidak keruan, tak keruan (not + known/definite) 'confused, disordered', tidak apa 'not matter'. Resembling a substantive + attribute construction is bagaimana (kind + which) 'how?', begitu 'like that', begini 'like this'. Resembling a verb + attribute construction is belah dua (to split [tr. base] + two) 'split in half'. Resembling a grader (see 252) + passive construction is kurang adjar (less + teach/learn) 'ill-mannered.' Resembling a preposition + verb phrase is demikian (after, by + so-much) 'thus'. sesajup mata (as + barely reach + eye) 'as far as the eye can see', selajang pandang (as + soar + gaze) 'casual'; so also

the comparatives consisting of se plus an intransitive, e.g. sebesar 'as large (as)'. Resembling a numeral + noun construction are the compound numerals: e.g. seorang 'one [human]', seékor 'one [animal]', sebuah 'one (inanimate]', sehelai 'one [flat]'.

Paired Verb Compounds

398. The paired verb compounds consist of a pairing of substantive in kertak-kertuk (cracking sound + cracking sound) 'to make repeated cracking sounds', kertap-kertap (cracking sound + cracking sound) 'to make repeated cracking sounds'; of roots in kenjat-kenjit 'to flick up and down repeatedly', hiru-biru 'to be in a tumult', hiru-hara 'to be in a tumult', haru-biru 'to be in a tumult', haru-hara 'to be in a tumult'.

Endocentric Verbal Compounds

399. Endocentric verb compounds are serial or attributive.

Serial

400. Serial verb compounds generally consist of two intransitives. The intransitives may be simple, complex, or compound: pulang pergi (go-home + go) 'go back and forth [from home]', turun naik 'go up and down', terus-terang (direct + clear) 'frank', péndék ketjil 'short and small', penganggur dukana 'idling and pleasure-loving', pandjang ter-umbaj-umbaj 'long and dangling', panas berdebu 'hot and dusty', dalam membiru 'deep and bluish', indah memberahikan 'beautiful and charming', hangat-hangat menjegarkan 'warm and refreshing', putih beterbangan 'white and spraying', hidjau kebiru-biruan (green + bluish) 'bluish-green', hidjau tersenjum 'green and smiling', menghidjau segar 'green-looking and fresh', berpanas berhudjan (be-in-the-sun + be-caught-in-the-rain) 'be out in all kinds of weather', seragam sebau (have-same-manner + have-same-smell) 'be of the same kind'. One (? or both of) the members may resemble a

a phrase: buruk tak terpelihara (bad + not + cared-for) 'in bad condition and uncared for', tahu sama tahu (know + equal + know) 'act in collusion'. The difference between a compound and juxtaposed phrases (see 274 f.) depends on a retard in the following: dojong hampir roboh and dojong↑ hampir roboh 'inclined and almost falling over'.

401. The members may be prepositional phrases: kesana kemari 'hither and thither'.

402. The second element is a root in djalang riuh 'wild and noisy'.

403. When the two members are nearly synonymous, the meaning of the compound is 'intensive' of the meaning of the first member: siap sedia (ready + ready) 'fully ready'. In sunji senjap (quiet + deserted) 'very quiet', the second element is for some speakers a distortion (see 88). In haru-haru, hiru-hara, haru-biru, hiru-biru 'to be in a tumult', segar bugar, sehat bugar (segar 'fresh, behat 'healthy') 'very

healthy' the final elements may likewise be distortions for some speakers Like these also are kelam kabut 'to be very confused' (hazy + hazy), terang tjemerlang 'to be very bright' (bright + bright).

404. Resembling this type, but with a transitive base as second member is ketjah belah (break + to split [tr. base]) 'break into small pieces', (?) tjampur aduk (mix + stir) 'to be confused, thoroughly mixed up'. With a root as first member, kenjat kenjit 'to flick up and down' (kenjit 'to lift the eyebrow as a signal'), robat-rabit (rabit 'to have a longish tear') 'to have longish tears'; and similarly robak-rabik 'to be raggedy'.

405. Serial compounds with numerals as members are usually alternative in meaning: dua tiga (two + three) 'two or three', seékor dua (a-tail + two) 'one or two [animals]', dua puluh tiga puluh (twenty + thirty) 'twenty or thirty'. However the ordinary numeral compound is additive: dua puluh delapan (two-ten + eight) 'twenty-eight', setah tiga uang (one-quarter + three-dime) 'identical' (i.e., like a quarter and three dimes).

Attributive Verb Compounds

406. Attributive verb compounds are of the (1) head-attribute type or (2) the attribute-head type.

407. The head of the head-attribute type is (1) a transitive base or (2) an intransitive.

408. The transitive bases are few in number. In the following instances the second member is an intransitive: beri-tahu, kasih-tahu (to give + to know) 'to inform'. Such a compound appears to underlie tidak ambil pusing (not + take + turn) 'not to care, not to give heed'.

409. The intransitives have as their attributive member (1) a substantive or (2) a verb.

410. With a substantive as second member: djalan kaki (go + foot) 'go on foot', mérah djambu (read + djambu 'fruit') 'be whitish red', main perempuan (play + woman) 'commit adultery', djauh malam (far + night) 'late at night', buta huruf (blind + letter) 'illiterate', makan tengah hari (eat + noon) 'to have lunch'. In bilamana (when + which) 'when?' the second element is a pronoun. Some numeral

compounds belong here: dua orang (two + person) 'two [human]', tiga buah (three + fruit) 'three [general]', empat ékor (four + tail) 'four [animal]'.

411. With a verb as second member: biru tua (blue + dark) 'dark blue', mérah muda (red + light) 'light red', hitam pekat (black + thick) 'pitch-black'.

412. Some compound numerals have a root as second member: lima belas (five + teen) 'fifteen', dua puluh (two + ten) 'twenty'.

413. Certain attributive verb compounds of the attribute-head type have bukan as the attributive member: bukan main (not + play) 'extraordinary, terrific', bukan kepalang (not + unsatisfactory) 'extraordinary, terrific', bukan sedikit (not + little) 'a great deal, terrific'. Another is exemplified only in apa bila (what + when) 'when?'. A third is exemplified in tengah dua (?half + two) 'one and a half'.

Compound Particles

414. Compound particles are (1) exocentric or (2) endocentric.

Exocentric Compound Particles

415. The exocentric compound particles are (1) pseudo-serial, (2) pseudo-attributive, or (3) phrasal.

416. lebih-kurang (more + less) and kurang-lebih (less + more) 'more or less' are the only instances of the pseudo-serial type.

417. The pseudo-attributive particles have their pseudo-head in (1) first or (2) second position.

418. The pseudo-attributive particles with the pseudo-head in the second position are:

purbakala (early time + time) 'in ancient times'

sediakala (ready + time) 'originally, beforehand'

barangkali (some + time) 'perhaps, maybe'

tempo hari (time + day) 'the other day, not long ago'

tak kundjung (not + soon) 'not for a long time, never'

tidak tahu, tak tahu (not + ever) 'never'

belum tahu (not-yet + ever) 'not as yet, never yet'

419. The pseudo-attributive particles with the pseudo-head in first position have as their first member (1) a morpheme which also appears as a pronoun, (2) a morpheme which also appears as an intransitive, or (3) a root.

420. The first morpheme also appears as a pronoun: apalagi (what + again/more/else) 'particularly, a fortiori', jalah (it + emphasis) 'is [particle of equation]'.

421. The first member also appears as an intransitive: baru sadja (new + just) 'recently', sama sekali (together + very) 'completely, altogether', sungguhpun (true + even) 'although', maupun (want + even) 'or [correlative]'.

422. The first member is a root: walau pun (if + even) 'although', meskipun (if + even) 'although'.

423. The phrasal type is exemplified by padahal (at/in + matter) 'despite, whereas, seeing that' (resembling a prepositional phrase) and jaitu (it + that) 'that is', jakni (it + this) 'that is' (resembling an equational predication).

Endocentric Compound Particles

424. The endocentric compound particles are attributive. They appear in (1) free particles, in (2) compound prepositions and in (3) a conjunction:

425. Free particles exemplifying the attributive type have the head in first position. The second member is a substantive in dahulukala (before + time) 'long agoi, in ancient times', kerap kali (dense + a time) 'frequently', banjak kali (many/frequent + a-time) 'frequently', sering kali (frequent + a-time) 'frequently'. The second member is a particle in barulah 'finally'.

426. The compound prepositions are kepada 'to', daripada 'from, than'.

427. The conjunction is biarpun (let + even) 'although'.

Complex Words: Complex Full-Words

428. A predicator that is a word is a full-word. Complex full-words are classified by the part-of-speech class to which they belong and are further subclassified by the affix which appears as one of the immediate constituents of the word.

Complex Substantives: Complex Pronouns

429. D- 'indefinite' appears with interrogative pronouns: siapa-siapa 'anybody', apa-apa 'anything, something', mana-mana 'anywhere.'

mana-mana 'anywhere'.

430. In the Malay type of speech D 'specific plural' appears with the same pronouns siapa-siapa 'who?' [plural], apa-apa 'what?' [pl.], mana-mana 'where?' [pl.], 'which' [pl.]. The latter two as descriptive attributes have the meaning 'plurality of the head'.

431. In Java -sadja 'specific plural' is the morph of the specific plural morpheme which appears with interrogative pronouns in siapa sadja 'who?' [pl.], apa sadja 'what?' [pl.], mana sadja 'where?' [pl.], 'which?' [pl.].

432. D-'universal' appears only with mana 'where': mana--mana 'everywhere'.

433. D-'emphatic' appears with complex pronouns which contain -sadja or -djuga: siapa-siapa sadja 'who?' [pl.], 'whoever', siapa-siapa djuga 'whosoever'.

434. -djuga '-soever' appears with the interrogative pronouns: siapa djuga 'whosoever', apa djuga 'whatsoever', mana djuga 'wheresoever, whichsoever'.

435. m- 'interrogative' appears only with -ana 'place, distant place' in mana 'where?', 'which?'.

436. D- (m-) appears with asing 'separate, foreign' in masing-masing 'each one'.

437. s- 'place' appears only with the demonstratives and -ana: sini 'here', situ 'there', sana 'yonder'.

438. -sadja '-ever' appears with the interrogatives: siapa sadja 'whoever', apa sadja 'whatever', mana sadja 'whichever, wherever'.

439. si- 'personal' appears with apa 'what': siapa 'who?', 'whoever'.

Complex Substantives

440. The affixes that appear in substantives are divided into two classes: (1) those which appear only with morpheme sequences which are substantives and (2) those which appear with morphemes which are not substantives.

441. Those which appear only with substantives are grouped into (1) prefixes, (2) suffixes, (3) circumfixes (i.e., affixes which contain both a prefixal and/or suffixal and/or infixal elements).

Prefixes

442. D 'specific plural' appears only with substantives which

do not already contain a morph or submorph of the shape of D. Substantives which so appear have the class-meaning 'concrete': buku-buku 'books'. Some speakers allow this prefix to appear with substantives which for other speakers are non-concrete substantives: kopi-kopi 'kinds of coffee'.

443. para- 'respectful specific plural' is restricted in its occurrence with substantives. The substantives with which it appears constitute a class of 'respected humans': para penjambut 'greeters', para guru 'teachers', para menteri 'ministers'.

444. D- 'extreme' appears with a few substantives: tengah-tengah 'center' (tengah 'middle), tepi-tepi 'extreme edge' (tepi 'edge'), pagi-pagi 'early in the morning' (pagi 'morning'), siang-siang 'early in the early afternoon' (siang 'early afternoon'), malam-malam 'late at night' (malam 'night').

445. D- 'analog' appears with a few substantives: laki-laki 'male

(laki 'husband'), gula-gula 'candy' (gula 'sugar'), djari-djari 'spoke' (djari 'finger'), mata-mata 'spy' (mata 'eye').

446. D- (k-) appears only with anak 'child, offspring': kanak-kanak 'small child'.

447. gem- 'obsolete collective' appears in the obsolete gemawan 'clouds' (awan 'cloud').

448. pah~peR- 'characterized by': pahlawan (?'opposer') 'hero', (lawan 'oppose') perantara 'mediator' (antara 'between, interval'), pemuka 'leader' (muka 'fore, front'), persegi 'quadrilateral, straight-sided figure' (segi 'angle, straight side').

449. r- (see 87): kekasih 'lover' (kasih 'love'), tetangga 'meighbor' (tangga 'ladder'), lelaki 'male' (laki 'husband').

450. sem- appears with antara in sementara 'interval, meantime'.

Suffixes

451. -an in the meaning 'a (general) analog': tingkatan 'level, stratum' (tingkat 'storey'), artian 'meaning, significance' (arti 'meaning, translation'), lapangan 'field, sphere' (lapang 'clearing'), lapisan 'stratum, layer' (lapis 'layer') alasan 'grounds, basis' (alas 'foundation, support'). Sometimes the general nature of the analog is not present: haribaan 'lap' (hariba 'lap').

452. -an in the meaning 'a large analog': lautan 'ocean' (laut 'sea'), daratan 'mainland, continent' (darat 'land' [as opposed to sea]).

453. -an in the meaning 'collective': rumputan 'grasses', sajuran 'vegetables'.

454. -an 'characterized by': buritan 'stern' (burit 'rear'), njanjian 'song' (njanji 'singing'), harian 'a daily' (hari 'day'), bulanan 'a monthly', tengah bulanan (mid-month + ly) 'semimonthly'.

455. -an 'non-partitivizer' forms non-partitive substantives from partitive substantives: barisan 'rank, line' (sebaris 'a rank, line'), djadjaran 'row' (sedjadjar 'a row').

456. -D + -an 'analog, pleasing variety': uang-uangan 'play money' (uang 'money'), gunung-gunungan 'counterfeit mountain, small hill, heap' (gunung 'mountain'), bunji-bunjian 'music, gameland'.

457. -(D + -em-) 'collective': gunung-gemunung 'mountains of various kinds'.

458. -(D + meN-) 'collective': sebelah-menjebelah 'both sides'.

459. -(D + pi-) 'collective': utang-piutang 'debts of all kinds, debts and loans' (utang 'debt').

460. -anda~, -nda 'honored': ajahanda 'honored father', kakanda 'honored older sibling', adinda 'honored younger brother', inangda 'royal wet-nurse', baginda (blessed-state + honored) 'Your Majesty'.

461. -at 'female': muslimat 'female Moslem'.

462. -i 'female': pemudi 'young woman' (pemuda 'youth'), puteri 'princess, daughter' (putera 'prince, son').

463. -in 'collective': muslimin 'Moslems'.

464. -ng 'vocative' is probably limited to Java: bapand 'Father!', kakang 'older brother!'

465. -onér 'follower, supporter': répolusionér 'revolutionary' (répolusi 'revolution').

466. -si 'movement or action by groups': koréspondénsi 'correspondence' (korésondén 'correspondence'), démokrasi 'democracy' (démokrat 'democrat'), koréksi 'correction' (koréktor 'corrector').

467. -wan 'one associated with': wartawan 'reporter' (warta 'news'), bangsawan 'noble' (bangsa 'noble descent').

Circumfixes

468. D- + -an~D- 'collective': bau-bauan 'perfumes' (bau 'smell'), daun-daunan 'foliage' (daun 'leaf'), bunga-bungaan 'flowers of various

kinds, flora', buah-buahan 'fruits of various kinds' (buah 'fruit'), bangun-banguan 'constructions' (banguan 'a construction'), tumbuh-tumbuhan 'plants' (tumbuhan 'plant'), sajur-sajuran 'vegetables' (sajur 'vegetable'). With transferred meanings tulang-tulangan 'bones of all kinds, skeleton, framework' (tulang 'bone'), kenang-kenangan 'memories, souvenir, ideal' (kenangan 'memory'), iring-iringan 'convoy' (iringan 'retinue, companion').

ka- + -n ~ ka- + -an ~ ke- + -an

469. ka ~ ke- + -an 'domain of, nature of': kabupatén 'regency' (bupati 'regent'), kawedanan 'district under a wedana', kerésidénan 'residency' (résidén), keradjaan 'kingdom' (radja 'king'), kementerian 'ministry' (menteri 'minister'), kebinatangan 'animalness' (binatang 'animal'), kepradjuritan 'soldierliness' (peradjurit 'soldier'),

kedaérahan 'provincialism' (daérah 'region, area').

470. With some substantives the meaning hardly differs from the underlying noun: kelakuan 'behavior' (laku 'behavior'), keuntungan 'profit' (untung 'profit'), kekuasaan 'control, superior might' (kuasa 'control').

471. pe- + -an ~ pe- + -n 'place characterized by': pedalaman 'interior' (dalam 'inside'), pebian 'customs office' (béa 'customs'), pegunungan 'mountainous area' (gunung 'mountain').

472. peR- + -an 'place characterized by' (differs from preceding because of contrast in the first example): pergunungan 'mountainous area' (gunung 'mountain'), permukaan 'surface' (muka 'face'), perairan 'waters' (air 'water'), perkebunan 'plantation' (kebun 'farm').

Affix with Positionally Different Alternants

473. Dis- ~ -Dis 'collective': Dis- in kelak-keluk 'complications entanglement (keluk 'bend'); -Dis in hal-ihwal 'matters of all sorts' (hal 'matter'), gunung-ganang 'mountains of all kinds' (gunung 'mountain'), bukit-bukau 'hill and dale' (bukit 'hill'), bantah-béntoh 'all sorts of quarrels' (bantah 'quarrel'). A number of different morphemes are involved in the following which have grossly similar meanings: gerak-gerék, gerak-garit, gerak-geri 'gestures, motions' (gerak 'gesture, motion'), tjiap-miap 'peeping sounds [of chicks]' (tjiap 'a peeping sound'; see 507.c.1).

Affixes with Non-Substantives

474. The affixes which appear with morpheme sequences which are not nouns are divided into (1) prefixes, (2) infixes, (3) suffixes, (4) circumfixes.

Prefixes

475. D- with roots: andang-andang 'boom, yard', alang-alang 'a kind of grass', alun-alun 'plaza', anting-anting 'earring',

undang-undang 'law', balai-balai 'bamboo seat or bed', silah-silah 'genealogy'.

476. Dis- with root: susur-galur 'genealogy' (-galur 'investigate past relationships').

477. den- 'onomatopoeia': dentam 'a thud, heavy and loud sound', dentang 'clang', dentjing 'clink', dentum 'a loud thud', dentur 'pop'.

478. de- 'onomatopoeia': detak 'the sound "tak"', 'a beat [of heart]', detik 'the sound "tik"', 'a second', detjing 'the sound of tjing, to clink'.

479. ke- with particle: kehendak 'will desire' (hendak 'will').

480. hil-, il-, l- with root: hilalang, ilalang, lalang 'kind of grass' (-alang as in alang-alang 'kind of grass').

481. men- with intransitive: mentua 'parent-in-law' (tua 'old').

482. mer- with intransitive: mertua 'parent-in-law' (tua 'old': Java equivalent of the preceding).

483. pe- 'instrument' + verbal: petundjuk 'guidance, guide, directive, instruction' (tundjuk 'point out'), petaruh 'advice, counsel, pawn' (taruh 'put'), pekasih 'love charm' (kasih 'love').

484. pe- 'agent' appears with verbals with prefix ber-.

485. With prefix beR-: pekerdja 'worker' (bekerdja 'work'), pedagang 'dealer' (berdagang 'be in business'), pedjuang 'struggler' (berdjuang 'to struggle'), petindju 'boxer' (bertindju 'box'), peternak 'animal raiser' (be[r]ternak 'raise animals'), pesowah 'wet-rice farmer' (bersawah 'engage in wet-rice agriculture').

486. With intransitive meN-: pelaut 'seaman' (melaut 'go to sea'), pengungsi 'refugee' (mengungsi 'flee'), pelagak 'braggart' (mdagak 'boast').

487. With transitive meN-: pemibatja 'reader' (membatja 'read'), penulis 'writer' (menulis 'write'), penasihat 'advisor' (menasihati 'advise [people]'), pembangun 'erector (bangunkan 'to erect'), penumpang 'passenger' (tumpangi 'ride on').

488. peN- 'verbal substantive formant' forms the verbal substantive member of the transitive inflection (see 244). It appears with the transitive base: pengantjam 'to threaten' (diantjam 'to be threatened'), penjegarkan 'to refresh' (disegarkan 'to be refreshed').

489. peN- 'permanently characterized by' appears with intransitives: pembesar 'official' (besar 'big, great'), penduduk 'inhabitant' (duduk 'sit'), pemuda 'youth' (muda 'young'), penakut 'coward' (takut 'fear').

490. per- with numerals forms fractions: pertiga 'third'.

491. pra- 'fore' appears with an intransitive in prasangka 'prejudice' (sangka 'expert') and with a transitive base in prabawa 'influence, induction [elect.]' (bawa 'bring') and with a substantive in prasedjarah 'prehistory' (sedjarah 'history').

492. A unique reduplication appears with a root in silsilah 'genealogy' (silah-silah 'genealogy').

493. se- with intransitive: semenandjung 'peninsula' (menandjung 'project'); with root, sekitar 'around, environment', semula 'beginning'; with substantive, sekeliling 'around' (keliling 'around').

494. si- with intransitives meaning 'a given animate possessing such-and-such a quality'; si manis 'a given charming one' (manis 'charming, sweet'), si durhaka 'a given evildoer' (durhaka 'wicked').

Infixes

495. The infix -el- appears with a verb in telundjuk 'forefinger' (tundjuk 'point'), gelembung 'bubble' (gembung 'swell'), with a substantive in selaput 'film, thin layer' (saput 'id.') and in telapak 'sole, palm' (tapak ?'id').

496. The infix -n- appears with a root in gentar 'trembling' (cf. gemetar 'to tremble').

Suffixes

497. -an appears in a variety of meanings which are in part limited by the type of verbal with which it appears and which are found occasionally clustered in a given instance.

498. -an 'to what the action of the transitive is characteristically done' with transitives: pakaian 'clothing' (pakai 'wear'), makanan 'food' (makan'eat'), batjaan 'reading matter' (batja 'read'). With a transitive base with -kan: pertundjukan 'exhibition, show' (pertundjukkan 'exhibit').

499. -an 'with what the action of the intransitive is typically done': mainan 'toy' (main 'play').

500. -an 'typical product of the action of the verbal': ukiran 'a carving' (ukir 'to carve'), bagian 'a division, section' (bagi 'to divide'), bungkusan 'a package' (bungkus 'to wrap'). With a transitive base with -kan: golongan 'a group' (golongkan 'to group'), bangunan 'a construction' (bangunkan 'to erect'), laporan 'a report' (laporkan 'to report').

501. -an 'name of the action': bantuan 'assistance' (bantu 'assist'), pimpinan 'leadership' (pimpin 'lead'), tekanan 'emphasis' (tekan 'emphasize'). With transitive base with -kan: perhatian 'attention' (perhatikan 'give attention to'). With transitive

base with -i: perbaikan 'improvement' (perbaiki 'improve'). Such complexes appear frequently as second members of compounds: barang tjétakan (object + printing) 'printed matter', gigi buatan (tooth + making) 'artificial teeth', (?) bukit barisan (hill + rank) 'range of hills'.

502. -an 'example of the action' appears with intransitives as well as transitives. With intransitives: pikiran 'a thought' (pikir 'to think'), harapan 'a hope' (harap 'to hope'). With transitives: tuduhan 'an accusation' (tuduh 'accuse'), teguran 'an admonition' (tegur 'admonish'), antjaman 'a threat' (antjam 'to threaten'), larangan 'a prohibition' (larang 'to prohibit'), gambaran 'a description' (gambar 'to describe'), tindjauan 'a survey' (tindjau 'to survey').

503. -an 'place of action' appears with two roots: djawatan 'office' (-djawat 'to hold office'), kendaraan 'vehicle' (-kendara 'go by vehicle'). This meaning clusters with 'example of the action' in the intransitive pikiran 'mind' (pikir 'think') and in the transitive ingatan 'memory' (ingat 'remember').

504. -an 'characterized by being or doing' appears with intransitives and roots. With intransitives: kotoran 'garbage' (kotor 'dirty'), dataran 'flatland, plain' (datar 'level, flat'), tumbuhan 'a plant' (tumbuh 'grow'), main-mainan 'toy' (main-main 'play around, joke'). With root: lingkungan 'environment' (-lingkung 'environing'), pudji-pudjian 'recommendation' (pudji-pudji 'recomment'), andjung-andjungan 'recommendation' (-andjung-andjung 'recommend').

505. -D + -em- 'collective' with root: seluk-semeluk 'relation, entanglement'.

506. -in 'collective characterized by': hadlirin 'audience' (hadelir 'be present').

507. -Dis 'varying (sounds)' appears in varying forms involving the replacement of the last vowel or the initial consonant.

a. With replacement of the last vowel:

1. By u: desas-desus 'sounds of whispering (-desus 'sound of whispering'), kertjap-kertjup 'sounds of mouthing food' (-kertjap 'sound of mouthing food'). Similar patterns appear without a separately occurring morph: kerang-kerung 'sound like a can that has been struck'.

2. By i: kertjap-kertjip 'sounds of mouthing food' (-kertjap 'sound of mouthing food').

b. Similar patterns of replacement appear without a separately occurring morph: lekum-lekam 'a loud sound', kosak-kasik 'sounds of constant rubbing, moving'.

c. With replacement of the initial consonant:

1. By m: tjarut-marut 'foul language' (tjarut 'foul'). A similar pattern appears without a separately occurring morph in tjiak-miak 'snarling sounds'.

2. By p: hiruk-pikuk 'tumult' (-hiruk 'tumultuous').

508. -Dis 'collective' appears with a vowel-replacement pattern in keropas-kerapis without a separately occurring morph and with replacement of the initial consonant by b in seluk-beluk 'ins and outs, complications' (-seluk 'entangle').

Circumfixes

509. ke- + -an abstract substantive formant appears very freely with intransitives which lack beR- or meN-: ketjakapan 'ability' (tjakap 'able'), keindahan 'beauty' (indah 'beautiful'). In one instance a complex intransitive with the prefix teR- is included: keterharuan 'the being moved, emotionally affected' (terharu 'moved, emotionally affected').

510. Rather common in recent literature are such substantives in which a phrase made up of tidak and an intransitive are included: ketidak-adilan 'injustice' (tidak adil 'not just'), ketidak-mampuan

'inability to afford' (tidak mampu 'cannot afford'), ketidak-sabaran 'impatience' (tidak sabar 'not patient').

511. In some instances the meaning of the noun is not predictable: keadaan 'curcumstance, condition, state' (ada 'exist'), kediaman 'dwelling, residence' (diam 'dwell, be silent'), kedjadian 'event, occurrence' (djadi 'to become', cf. terdjadi 'to happen'), kebanjakan 'majority' (banjak 'much, many'), and perhaps keberatan 'objection' (?berat 'heavy').

512. p- + -an 'substantive formant' appears with intransitives that have the prefix beR- or meN-, and with the nasalized form of the transitive base.

513. With intransitives with the prefix beR-: perbédaan 'difference' (berbéda 'to differ'), pergaulan 'association' (bergaul 'associate'), perkembangan 'development' (berkembang 'to develop'). The compound pertanggungan-djawab 'responsibility' includes bertanggung-djawab 'to be responsible'.

514. The meaning of the substantive is more concrete in some instances than in others. The following are some instances of more concrete meanings: peladjaran 'lesson, studying' (beladjar 'study'), pekerdjaan 'job' (bekerdja 'work'), perdjalanan 'trip' (berdjalan 'walk, be on one's way, take a trip'), pelajaran 'voyage' (be(r)lajar 'to sail'), pelabuhan 'harbor' (berlabuh 'to drop anchor').

515. With intransitives with meN-: pendakian 'ascent' (mendaki 'ascend, climb').

516. With more concrete meanings are: pengertian 'mind, opinion' (mengerti 'understand'), penginapan 'lodgings, hotel' (menginap 'to spend the night').

517. With the nasalized form of a transitive: penjerobotan 'plundering' (menjerobot 'plunders'), penerimaan 'reception' (menerima 'receive'), pendjualan 'sale, selling' (mendjual 'sell'), pembagian 'dividing, division' (membagi 'divide'). With the subtraction of -i (see 635 ff): pengalaman 'experience' (mengalami 'to experience'), pengetahuan 'knowledge' (mengetahui 'to know'), pendudukan 'occupation' (meduduuki 'to occupy'), pengadilan 'justice' (mengadili 'to adjudicate').

With the subtraction of -kan: pembangunan 'construction, development' (membangunkan 'to erect'), pembersihan 'cleansing' (membersihkan 'to clean').

518. The meaning of the substantive is more concrete in some instances than in others. The following are instances of more concrete meanings: pemandangan 'view, opinion' (memandang 'consider, view, look at'), penerangan 'information, propaganda' (menerangkan 'to explain'), pentjarian 'livelihood' (mentjari 'seek'), penghidupan 'livelihood' (menghidupi 'to support, keep alive').

519. peN- + -an 'substantive formant' appears with roots: pendirian 'attitude' (-diri 'stand'), penganan 'delicacy, sweetmeat' (-kan 'to eat').

520. peR- + -an 'substantive formant' appears with one root and with transitives: perlawatan 'visit' (melawat 'visit'), pertolongan

'assistance' (tolong 'help'), permintaan 'request' (minta 'request'), pertentangan 'opposition' (tentang 'oppose').

521. se- + -nja 'substantive formant' appears with a verbal in selebihnja 'the remainder' and with a particle in sebagainja 'the like'.

Comples Verbs: Complex Intransitives

522. Complex intransitives are divided into those in which the affix is (1) a prefix, (2) a suffix, (3) a circumfix, (4) a confix.

Prefixes

523. The prefix beg- appears only with the demonstratives: begitu 'is that way, so', begini 'is this way, so'.

524. The prefix beR- forms intransitives with (1) roots, (2) transitive bases, (3) intransitives, (4) substantives.

525. With roots: berlumba 'to race, bergaul 'to associate', berhenti 'to stop', bersama 'to be together'.^{v}

526. With transitive bases: berkumpul 'to assemble' (kumpul

'to gather'), beladjar 'to study' (adjar 'to teach'), berulang 'to recur, to repeat' (ulang 'to repeat'). With a marked difference in meaning: berangkat 'to leave' (angkat 'lift, raise'). Some such complexes appear only in limited positions, one of which is after tidak: tidak beratur 'disorderly'.

527. With some transitive bases beR- appears to have the meaning 'be one of a number of co-actors': bertolong 'to help each other' (P obsolete).

528. An intranstive with the prefix beR- and the intransitive ituef have noticeable differences in occurrence as between the colloquial and literary. In general the difference can be summed up in this way: as a rule the literary does not have both a ber- form and a simple form and has only the ber- form if both occur in the colloquial. It is only in the case of numerals that both agree in having the simple and complex forms with the same difference in meaning.

529. With numerals beR- has the meaning 'to constitute a group of...': bersatu 'to unite, be one', berdua 'be together, act together [of two]', bertiga 'be together, act together [of three]'.

530. When the form with the prefix is also colloquial, then the simple intransitive and the complex intransitive in the colloquial usually differ grossly in meaning: berlari 'to run' (lari 'to run away, to run'), bergulung 'to roll over' (gulung 'to roll up'), bersiap 'to be at attention' (siap 'to be ready'), bertjerita 'to tell stories' (tjerita 'to narrate, to tell a story'), bertanja 'to ask questions' (tanja 'to ask'), berputar 'to revolve [freely]' (putar 'to turn, revolve under impulse'), berikut 'next' (ikut 'accompany, follow').

531. In some instances the difference in meaning is only that the complex form appears in more formal situations: berkaki empat, kaki empat 'to be four-footed'.

532. If the complex word is only standard in some instances, it seems to have grossly the same meaning as the colloquial simple word,

and the simple word is restricted (at least generally) from occurring in standard: berhembus, bertiup 'to blow'[as wind]' (coll. hembus, tiup 'to blow'), bermain 'to play [games]' (coll. main 'to play'), berhitung 'to calculate' (hitung 'to calculate'), berpikir 'to think' (coll. pikir 'to think').

533. If the complex word is only literary, in some instances it seems to have grossly the same meaning as some complex colloquial words: berawas 'to be careful' (awas-awas 'to be careful'). Sometimes the complex colloquial word is also literary: bergantung 'to depend' (coll. and lit. tergantung 'to depend').

534. When the complex word has the same meaning as the simple word, it may differ in meaning from (unless it includes) that of the colloquial complex word: bertanja 'to ask a question' (coll. tanja 'to ask a question'; bertanja 'to ask questions'), bertjerita 'to narrate, tell a story' (coll. tjerita 'to narrate, tell a story'; bertjerita 'to tell stories'), berdjandji 'to promise, agree' (coll. djandji 'to promise, to agree'; berdjandji 'to make promises').

535. With substantives the prefix beR- appears with slightly different meanings, according to whether the accompanying substantive is a partitive substantive or not.

536. With non-partitive substantives the meaning of beR- ranges over 'simple verbalizer' and 'be, become possessed of the noun': bergerak 'to move' (gerak 'motion, gesture'), be[r]lajar 'to sail' (lajar 'a sail'), berhasil 'to succeed' [(i.e., ?achieve a result) hasil 'a product, result'], berpakaian 'to get dressed' (pakaian 'clothing'), bertunangan 'to be engaged' (tunangan 'fiancé[e]'), berbahaja 'to be dangerous' (bahaja 'danger').

537. In some instances the literary dialect has forms with beR- and the colloquial has simple forms: berbau, coll. bau 'to emit an odor, to smell' (bau 'a smell'), bersekolah, coll. sekolah 'to attend school' (sekolah 'a school'), berdjalan, coll. djalan 'to go, be on one's way, to travel' (djalan 'road').

538. If the beR- form also occurs in the colloquial, it may be

that it occurs only in somewhat more formal situations: lit., coll. bekerdja, coll. kerdja 'to work'.

539. The construction of new forms of this type is quite free in the standard dialect and there are consequently many which do not (?yet) appear in the colloquial: berkeréta 'to go by car, train' (keréta 'car').

540. In the standard dialect the prefix beR- appears with a numeral plus substantive construction: berdua hati 'to be doubtful, dishonest', berdua haluan 'to be of two minds'.

541. With partitive substantives (see 217) the meaning is 'consitute a..., be in the fashion of...': berdjadjar 'to be in a row' 'sedjadjar 'a row'), berikat 'to be in a bundle' (seikat 'a bundle'), berlapis 'to be in layers' (selapis 'a layer').

542. The word beriring-iringan 'to go in a group, convoy' belongs here despite the fact that seiringiringan has not yet appeared. (cf. siring 'a file').

543. The prefix bet- appears only in the intransitive betapa 'how?'.

544. The prefix D- 'intransitive formant' appears with (1) roots, (2) substantives (3) intransitives.

545. With roots: sia-sia 'worthless, idle', tjuma-tjuma 'to be worthless, idle', pelan-pelan (coll.) 'slow, tiba-tiba 'sudden'. With a compound root: pergi datang pergi datang 'to go back and forth'. With these are perhaps to be associated the doublings which appear only as the second members of compounds: ikan lumba-lumba 'porpoise', ikan lajang-lajang 'flying fish'.

546. With substantives: hati-hati 'to be careful' (hati 'heart, liver, mind'), anak-anak 'to be childish, childlike' (anak 'child'), untung-untung 'to depend on luck' (untung 'good fortune, profit').

547. With intransitives: pulang pergi pulang pergi 'to go back and forth from home' (pulang pergi 'to be round-trip' [as of a ticket]).

548. The prefix D- 'affective' has a variety of meanings: (1) recurrence, (2), reduction, (3) intensification, (4) analogousness.

549. 'Recurrence' can be divided into the following subdivisions: (a) plurality of subject or attribute, (b) iteration, (c) plurality of state, (d) plurality of outcome.

550. Reference plural. Certain intransitives commonly appear as predicators or as attributes in the meaning 'the subject or the head as the case may be is plural': buku itu besar-besar. 'Those books are large.'; saja tidak suka buku besar-besar itu. 'I do not like those large books.'. At least some transitives appear with the same meaning: bungkusan itu sudah diikat-ikat. 'Those packages have been tied.'. So also other intransitives than adjectives: rumah itu bertabur-tabur. 'Those houses are scattered.'.

verbs

551. Iteration. This is the most common meaning with verbs which do not indicate a quality, often including such notions as 'do without design or definite goal, to be constantly...': lihat-lihat 'to look around', beli-beli 'to keep buying', bawa-bawa 'to carry around from place to place', marah-marah 'to be constantly angry, to anger easily', sakit-sakit 'to be sickly, to be constantly sick',

berlajar-lajar 'to sail along, around', bertukar-tukar 'change one after another', bergulung-gulung 'to roll over and over', bertanja-tanja 'ask repeatedly', diperiksa-periksa 'to be examined repeatedly', ditulis-tuliskan 'to be continually noted', terdjadi-djadi 'to recur, occur repeatedly', melontjat-lontjat 'to keep leaping', bertentang-tentangan 'to be often opposed', berkilau-kilauan 'to twinkle repeatedly', kapan-kapan 'whenever', sewaktu-waktu 'whenever', bila-bila 'whenever'.

552. With the meaning of 'iteration' is associated the 'universal' meaning that appears with verbs with a negative: dia tidak datang-datang. 'He never comes.'.

553. With numerals and a few other intransitives, the 'iteration' appears in sequence: satu-satu 'to be, do singly', dua-dua 'to be or do by twos', sendiri-sendiri 'each alone, one after the other', sedikit-sedikit 'little by little'. So also the higher stratum berdua-dua 'to be or do by twos', bertiga-tiga 'to be or do by threes'.

554. Plurality of state. Some intransitives whose meaning concerns a state when doubled mean that the state is found at various places in the subject: badjunja kojak-kojak. 'His jacket is torn

in many places.'; dia luka-luka. 'He is wounded in many places.'; djalan itu béngkok-béngkok. 'That road has many curves.'; djalan itu berlobang-lobang. 'That road is full of holes.'; pakaiannja berlapis-lapis. 'His clothing is in layers.'.

555. Multiplicity of outcome. Some transitives when doubled mean that the resultant of the action of the verb is multiple: padi itu berikat-ikat. 'That paddy is in sheaves.'; padi itu diikat-ikat. 'That paddy was tied [into sheaves].'; dibungkkus-bungkus 'to be tied into bundles'; pisah-pisah-pisahkan 'to divide into many parts'.

556. 'Reduction' is a meaning about like that of English '-ish': tinggi-tinggi 'tall-ish'. This meaning appears with most adjectivals, but only when they are predicators with a noun subject or attributes of a noun: bungkusan jang satu itu rapi-rapi. 'That particular bundle is neatish.'; bungkusan rapi-rapi itu sudah diambil. 'That neatish bundle has been taken away.'. Similarly: kasar-kasar 'somewhat coarse', putih-putih 'whitish', merah-merah djambu 'pinkish'.

557. 'Intensification' is a meaning which approximates that of English 'very'. It appears with the same adjectivals as

'reduction' in all other functions: dibungkusnja rapi-rapi. 'He wrapped it up neatly.'. It also appears with some adjectivals as well as some other intransitives: giat-giat 'very industrious', ramah-ramah hati 'very cordial', sepi-sepi 'very deserted', luar-luar biasa 'very extraordinary', banjak-banjak 'very much, very many', ramai-ramai 'very crowded, very noisy', mengharu-harukan 'very moving', berseri-seri 'very glowing', bertabur-taburan 'to be scattered everywhere', kehéran-héranan 'to be very surprised', berketjil-ketjil hati 'to be very offended', tersérak-serak 'very scattered', periang-riang 'very happy', permalas-malas 'to ve very lazy', berlain-lainan 'to be very different from each other'.

558. The variant meaning 'emphasis' appears with the inclusive numerals: kedua-dua 'both' (kedua 'both'), ketiga-tiga 'all three' (ketiga 'all three').

559. 'Analogousness' is a meaning which is applied to an action indicated by a doubled verbal which is different from, but has some similarity to that of the base: gatal-gatal 'seem to itch' (gatal 'itch'), bersinar-sinar 'seem to shine' (bersinar 'to shine'),

ditjari-tjari 'be trumped up', dibuat-buat 'to be brought about by design', diangkat-angkat 'to be extolled, flattered', makan-makan 'to eat out'. Perhaps to be connected here are the doubled forms which appear as the second members in pésta minum-minum 'drinking party', wang djaga-djaga 'money in reserve', and as first members in hilang-hilang timbul 'appear and disappear', lupa-lupa ingat 'not remember exactly, remember hazily'.

560. The following belong here also: bukan-bukan 'inconceivable' (particle bukan 'not'), kurang-kurang 'as lessens' (kurang 'lack, lessen'), lebih-lebih 'so increases' (lebih 'more').

561. The prefix D- + -em- ~ D- 'in different directions' forms intransitives exhibiting the following range of meanings: (a) 'constantly, in different sorts of ways', (b) 'exceedingly', (c) 'reciprocally'. The prefix appears only with intransitives.

562. D- + -em- ~ D- 'constantly in every sort of way': with intransitive: gilap-gemilap 'to be always gleaming' (gilap 'to gleam'), turun-temurun 'to be hereditary, last from generation to the next' (turun 'to descend'), gilang-gemilang 'to be constantly

brilliant' (gemilang 'to be brilliant'), kerdja-bekerdja 'to walk constantly, to be always on trips', terus-menerus 'to continue unceasingly' (menerus 'to continue').

563. D- + -em ~ D- 'exceedingly': terang-temerang 'to be exceedingly bright, clear'.

564. D- + -em ~D- 'reciprocally': tali-bertali 'to be connected with each other' (bertali 'to be related, connected'), surat-menjurat 'to exchange letters' (menjurat 'to write letters').

565. The prefix D- + meN- 'in different directions, ways' forms intransitives with the following range of meanings: (a) 'constantly, in different sorts of ways', (b) 'reciprocally'.

566. D- + meN- 'constantly, in different directions' appears with a noun in kilau-mengilau 'to sparkle repeatedly' (kilau 'sparkle'), and with transitives in sangkut-menjangkut 'to continually catch on to something, continually involve' (disangkut 'to be caught, involved'), tjatat-mentjatat 'to continually note' (ditjatat 'to be noted'), tumbuk-menumbuk 'to constantly pound' (ditumbuk 'to be pounded'), tulis-menulis 'to write constantly in varied ways'.

567. D- + meN- 'reciprocal' is found only with transitives and mainly with simple transitives: serang-menjerang 'to attack each other', tindju-menindju 'to box with each other', tolong--menolong 'to help each other', kawin-mengawini 'to intermarry' (dikawini 'to be married').

568. D- + per- 'sequential' appears with the numeral satu: satu persatu 'one by one'.

569. em- 'highly formal' appears only with punja 'to have': empunja 'to have, possess'.

570. gem- 'repeated' with substantives: gementam 'to thud repeatedly' (dentam 'thud').

571. gemel- 'repeated' with substantives: gemelentam 'to thud repeatedly' (dentam 'thud'), gemeletak 'to click repeatedly' (detak 'click').

572. gemer- 'repeated', (a) with roots: gemertak 'to click repeatedly', gemertjak 'to make a dripping noise'; (b) with substantives: gemerentjing 'to clink repeatedly' (dentjing 'clink'), gemerentjang 'to clang repeatedly' (dentjang 'clang').

573. ha- 'formal' in haribaan, coll. ribaan 'lap'.

574. ke- 'involuntary act' appears with roots: ketawa 'to laugh' (-tawa 'laugh'), ketemu 'to meet, find' (-temu 'meet, find'), kedengkik 'to become weak [from hunger, etc.]' (-dengkik). P marks a number of such complexes as Javanese: kesangsang 'to catch on to', kesandung 'to strike in passing, to trip on'.

575. meN- 'intransitivizer' appears with (a) roots, (b) nouns, (c) intransitives, (d) transitives.

576. With roots: mengalir 'to flow' (-alir), melajang 'to soar' (-lajang), melekat 'adhere, stick to' (-lekat), mendjalar 'to creep' (-djalar).

577. With substantives there are two distinguishable meanings: (a) 'do what is indicated by the substantive' and (b) 'resemble, act like the substantive'.

578. 'Act in a way indicated by the substantive: menangis 'to weep' (tangis 'weeping'), membual 'to gossip' (bual 'gossip'),

melontjat 'to leap' (lontjat 'leap'), merasa 'to feel' (rasa 'a feeling'), menjesal 'to regret' (sesal 'regret').

579. 'To resemble or act like the substantive': mengatja 'to be glassy' (katja 'glass'), mengair 'to be watery' (air 'water'), menandjung 'to project' (tandjung 'cape'), membabi-buta 'to thrash about blindly' (babi-buta 'blind pig').

580. 'To move in a direction suggested by the substantive': mendarat 'to land, go ashore' (darat 'land'), melaut 'to go to sea' (laut 'sea'), menjelat 'to squeeze through' (selat 'strait'), meningkat 'to rise' (tingkat 'a storey'), mengerti 'to understand' (arti 'meaning').

581. With intransitives the meanings are (a) 'to become or give the impression of being what the intransitive signifies', (b)'to perform an act like that of a different actor', (c)'formal'.

582. 'To become or give the impression of being what the intransitive signifies': memandjang 'to extend' (pandjang 'to be long'), mendalam 'to penetrate deeply' (dalam 'deep'), membiru 'to look blue, to turn blue', menguning 'to turn yellow, to ripen',

menjombong 'to act arrogant' (sombong 'arrogant'), membisu 'to act dumb' (bisu 'dumb'), menghudjan 'to come down like rain, to rain down' (hudjan 'to rain').

583. 'To perform an act like that of a different actor': menurun 'to descend [of car, road, statistics]' (turun 'go, come down [person, rain]'), menghilang 'to disappear, go out of sight [e.g. airplane]' (hilang 'to get lost, disappear'), membélok 'to veer [of ship]' (bélok 'to turn off to the side [of road]').

584. 'Formal': mendjadi 'to become' (djadi 'to become'). The meaning 'formal' is associated with a root: meninggal 'to pass away' (if not associated with tinggal 'remain, reside', but consider tinggalkan 'leave, abandon').

585. With transitives the meaning is (a) to show the effects of undergoing an action like that indicated by the transitive as in menambah 'increase' (tambah 'to add, to increase'), and (b) 'to be characterized by producing the effect indicated by transitive', as in memuaskan 'satisfactory' (puaskan 'to satisfy'), menjedihkan 'saddening' (sedihkan 'to sadden'), memggembirakan 'inspiring'

(gembirakan 'make joyful'), mengatjau 'disturbance-causing' (katjau 'to disturb, stir up').

586. The prefix peN- with intransitives forms intransitives meaning 'possess permanently or by nature the characteristic denoted by the base intransitive': periang 'happy by nature' (riang 'happy'), pemalas 'naturally lazy' (malas 'lazy'), peramah 'cordial by nature' (ramah 'cordial'), penakut 'cowardly' (takut 'fear'), pendiam 'quiet by nature' (diam 'to be silent').

587. The prefix per- forms an intransitive with the particle tjuma 'only' and with a root in pertama 'first'.

588. The prefix se- forms an intransitive with the root dikit: sedikit 'few, a little bit'.

589. The prefix sen- appears only with the noun diri 'self': sendiri 'to be alone, intensive'.

590. The prefix teR- (1) 'involuntary' forms intransitives with (a) roots, (b) substantives, (c) intranstives, and (d) transitives.

591. With roots: tersentak 'to wake up with a start', terbajang 'to be reflected', terantuk 'to bump', terhujung-hujung 'to stagger'.

592. With substantives: tersenjum 'to smile' (senjum 'smile'), terlompat 'to slip out, leap forth' (lompat 'a leap'), terletak 'to be located, be found' (letak 'location'), tertulang 'to feel deeply [down to one's bones]' (tulang 'bone'), terpeladjar 'to be educated' (peladjar 'student'), ternama 'to be renowned' (nama 'name').

593. With complex transitives: terhormat 'to be honored' (hormati 'to honor'), terbatas 'to be limited' (batasi 'to limit'), terasa 'to be felt' (rasai 'to feel'), tergabung 'to be organized' (gabungkan 'to organize'), teralang 'to be impeded' (alangkan 'to impede'), terharu 'to be moved' (harukan 'to move'), terpentjil 'to be isolated' (pentjilkan 'to isolate'), terasing 'to be isolated' (asingkan 'to isolate'), terbukti 'to be proved' (buktikan 'to prove'), terpaksa 'to be compelled' (paksakan 'to compel'), terbangun 'to be awakened' (bangunkan 'to awaken'), terkenang 'to be reminded' (kenangkan 'to recall, remind'), teringat 'to be reminded' (ingatkan 'to remind'), tertinggal 'be left behind' (tinggalkan 'leave, abandon'). In terkemuka 'to be prominent' (kemukakan 'advance, propose') and terkebelakang 'backward' (belakangkan 'to restrain, keep to the rear') there is a variation from the usual meaning.

594. In some instances the suffix is retained: tekerdjakan 'to be done'.

595. teR- (2) 'accidental active' forms intransitives with a few transitive bases: termakan 'to eat by accident' (makan 'to eat'), terminum 'to drink by accident' (minum 'to drink'), tertelan 'to swallow by accident'. With a negative these intransitives have the meaning 'able': tidak termakan 'to be unable to eat unable to be eaten', tidak terminum 'to be unable to drink', tidak tertelan 'to be unable to swallow'.

596. teR- (3) 'potential passive' forms intransitives with transitives without loss of a suffix. Such complexes are (? only) found with a negative: tidak tertahan 'not endurable' (tahan 'to endure, restrain'), tidak terbeda-bedakan 'not able to be differentiated' (bedakan 'to differentiate'). This meaning also appears with roots appearing with ter (2): termakan 'uneatable' (as well as 'unable to eat', see above.)

597. teR- (4) 'most' forms intransitives with adjectives: tertinggi 'most tall', terbesar 'greatest'. This meaning also appears in terkebelakang 'most backward' (beside 'backward', see P).

598. teR-(5) 'excessive, too' forms intransitives with a root in telandjur 'to go too far ahead' (-andjur 'to advance, project'), terdorong 'to go too far' (-dorong 'to move forward'), tersorong 'to go too far' (-sorong 'push'), tertolak 'to go too far' (-tolak 'shove off'),; with two intransitives: terlalu 'too' (lalu 'pass'), terlampau 'too' (lampau 'to pass, go by'); with a prepositional phrase in terkeluar 'to go out too far' (ke luar 'to [go] out').

Infixes Found in Complex Intransitives

599. The infix -el- (1) 'repeatedly': geligit 'to bite repeatedly' (gigit 'to bite').

600. The infix -el- (2) 'no gross difference' appears in the root of the following: terpelanting 'to fall head over heels' (terpanting 'id.') and in the root of menggeletar 'tremble, shiver, beat' (bergetar 'id.').

601. The infix -em- 'intransitivizer' appears with a root in gemilang 'to be brilliant', gemetar 'to tremble'; with substantives in gemuntur 'to thuder' (guntur 'thunder'), gemuruh 'to thunder (guruh 'thunder'), gementar 'to tremble' (gentar 'trembling'); and with

intransitives in gemilap 'to sparkle' (gilap 'to be shiny'), gemelugut 'to tremble violently' (?gelugut 'to tremble violently').

602. The infix -er- appears in a root morpheme without gross difference in meaning: tersandung, terserandung 'to strike against.'

603. The infix -N- appears with a root in mengkar 'to swell' (mekar 'to swell'), sambur-limbur 'to be very hazy' (sabur-limbur 'to be very hazy').

Suffixes

604. The suffix -an (1) 'intransitivizer' appears with substantives in the meaning 'to be characterized by': harian 'to be daily' (hari 'day'), mingguan 'to be weekly' (minggu 'week'), bulanan 'to be monthly' (bulan 'month'), tahunan 'to be yearly' (tahun 'year'), belakangan 'to be last' (belakang 'back').

605. The suffix -an (2) 'intransitivizer' (possibly only for Javanese speakers) has thus far appeared only with tahun 'year': tahunan 'to be a matter of years'.

606. The suffix -D -an 'reductive intransitivizer' appears with intransitives in untung-untungan 'to be a matter of luck' (untung 'lucky'), ikut-ikutan, turut-turutan 'to seem to be participating, to be not seriously involved' (ikut, turut 'to participate'), and with a transitive in dengar-dengaran 'to seem to hear, to hear rumors' (dengar 'to hear').

607. The suffix -D -an '? emphatic intransitivizer' appears with two numeral + partitive substantive phrases: sehari-harian '? to last all day long' (sehari 'a day'), semalam-malaman 'to last all night long' (semalam 'a night').

608. The suffix -ke- -D -an 'tinted' forms intransitives with intransitives meaning 'to be of a color': biru-kebiruan 'to be blue-tinted' (biru 'to be blue'). This suffix is probably limited to speakers of Minangkabau.

609. The suffix -i 'intransitivizer' appears with a substantive in asli 'original, native' (asal 'origin').

610. The suffix -nja with a pseudo-phrase: tidak bédanja 'to be exactly the same' (tidak 'not' + beda 'difference').

611. The suffix -s 'intransitivizer': sosiologis 'sociological' (sosiologi 'sociology').

612. The suffix -wan 'intransitivizer': rupawan 'to be good-looking' (rupa 'form, shape').

613. The suffix -wi 'intransitivizer': duniawi 'to be worldly' (dunia 'world').

Circumfixes

614. The circumfix beR- + -an 'to do everywhere, excessively' appears with intransitives: betaburan 'to be scattered all over' (bertabur 'to be scattered'), bergelandangan 'to roam all over' (bergelandang 'to roam'), berdjalaran 'to creep everywhere' (berdjalar 'to creep'), beterbangan 'to fly about everywhere' (terbang 'to fly'), bepergian 'to go far' (pergi 'to go'); and with roots in berlélèhan 'to trickle excessively', berkilanan 'to sparkle'.

615. The circumfix beR- + -an 'to do with a co-actor' appears with a root in bersangkutan 'to be involved', berbenturan 'to come into conflict with each other'; with a substantive in bersebergan

'to be opposite each other' (seberang 'other side'); with intransitives in berkenalan 'to be acquainted with each other' (kenal 'to be acquainted'), berkenaan 'to be related' (kena 'to hit, strike'), berpadanan 'to suit, match each other' (padan 'to suit, match'), berpatutan 'to suit, be fitting' (patut 'to be proper'), berdekatan 'to be near each other' (berdekat 'to be nearby'), bertalian 'to be related to each other' (bertali 'to be related'), bertindjuan 'to box together' (bertindju 'to box'), bertentangan 'to be opposite each other' (bertentang 'to be opposed, opposite'); with transitives: berlanggaran 'to attack each other' (dilanggar 'be attacked'), berlihatan 'to look at each other' (dilihat 'be seen'), bersentuhan 'to touch, graze' (disentuh 'be touched, grazed'), bersinggungan 'to touch each other' (disinggung 'be touched').

616. The circumfix beR- -D 'for...s, by the...(s)' appears with partitive substantives: berdjam-djam 'for hours' (djam 'hour'), berabad-abad 'for centuries', bertaun-taun 'for years', beratus-ratus 'by the hundreds' (-ratus 'hundred'), berpuluh-puluh 'by the tens' (-puluh 'ten'), berikat-ikat 'in bundles' (-ikat 'bundle'), berkali-kali 'many times' (-kali 'a time').

617. The circumfix beR- + -D 'repeated or intensive' appears with a noun in berdéhém-déhém 'to clear the throat, hum' (déhém 'sound of clearing the throat or humming'), and with an intransitive in berpajah-pajah 'to be under great difficulties' (pajah 'to be very difficult').

618. The circumfix ke- + -an 'to chance or to be able to be affected by an action' appears with transitives. The meaning 'to be able' appears with two simple transitives: kelihatan 'to be visible, appear' (lihat 'to see'), kedengaran 'to be audible' (dengar 'to hear'). The meaning 'to chance' appears with the complex transitives (the latter however lacking their suffixes): ketinggalan 'to chance to be left behind' (ditinggalkan 'to be left behind'), ketakutan 'to get frightened' (ditakutkan 'to be frightened'), kekurangan 'to suffer from a lack' (dikurangkan 'be deprived'), kedinginan 'suffer from cold' (didinginkan 'be made cold'), ketularan 'to get contaminated' (ditulari 'be contaminated'), kelupaan 'to get forgotten' (dilupakan 'be forgotten about', dilukai 'to be forgotten'), kemasukan 'to happen, get to be entered' (dimasuki 'to be entered'), ketahuan 'to become

known' (diketahui 'be known'), kedjaga-djaggan 'to spend a sleepless night' (didjaga-djagakan 'to be repeatedly waked').

619. The circumfix ke- + -an 'excessive' at present has a strong Javanese tinge. It appears with simple intransitives, mainly adjectivals: kebesaran 'to be too big' (besar 'big'), ketinggian 'to be too tall' (tinggi 'tall').

620. The circumfix ke- + D- + -an 'be affected by' appears with nouns: kebiru-biruan 'to be blue-tinted' (biru 'blue'), kebarat-baratan 'to be western-influenced' (barat 'west'), kehidung-hidungan 'to be nasal' (hidung 'nose'), kebelanda-belandaan 'to be Dutch-influened'.

621. The circumfix se- + D 'intransitivizer' appears with roots in sekonjong-konjong 'to be sudden', sewenang-sewenang 'to be as one pleases'.

622. The circumfix se- + -D 'every' appears with a noun in sehari-hari 'to be every day, daily'.

623. The circumfix teR- + -D 'intransitivizer' appears with a root in terbahak-bahak 'in guffaws' and in tergesa-gesa 'to be in a rush, a hurry', with a transitive in terburu-buru-buru 'in a rush, a hurry'.

Affixes with Vositionally Different Alternants

624. Dis- ~ -Dis 'to make varying (actions)' appears in varying forms, many suggesting the formation of substantives (see 507). The alternants Dis- appears in connection with vowel replacements and those of -Dis in connection with consonant or wholesale replacements. Where vowel replacements are involved there appears to be a pattern of (1) replacement of other vowels by a and (2) replacement of a by back vowels.

a. Prefixal (Dis-).

1. With replacement of the last vowel: with roots as in kenjat-kenjit 'flick up and down' (-kenjit 'wink'), kernjat-kernjut 'to make the sound of rubbing wood, to creak' (-kernjut) intransitives as in bengkang-bengkung 'very twisted' (bengkung 'twisted, bent'), tjelas-tjelus 'to go in and out' (tjelus 'to fit, be able to pass through'), lekak-lekuk 'bumpy, uneven' (lekuk 'concave'). Similar patterns appear without a separately occurring morph: tjelam-tjelum 'to go in and out, up and down', gerbas-gerbus 'to made a hissing sound', gembar-gembor 'to shout', kenjat-kenjut 'flick up and down'.

2. With replacement of the last and next-to-last vowels:

(a) by o-a: tjongkah-tjangkih 'to stick up all over' (-tjaugkih), tjobak-tjabik 'to be raggedy' (-tjabik), tjobar-tjabir 'to be raggedy' (-tjabir), polang-paling 'to keep revolving, turning (wind)' (-paling 'turn'), pontang-panting 'to drip everywhere' (-panting 'head over heels'), bolak-balik 'to go back and forth, commute' (balik 'to go back'). Similar patterns appear in the absence of a separately occurring morph: komat-kamit 'to move the lips or mouth repeatedly as in prayer', tjongkar-tjangkir 'to stick up all over', kotjah-katjih 'to be always doing something,' kontal-kantil 'to swing like a pendulum on a short suspension', kontang-kanting 'to swing like a pendulum on a long suspension', keropas-kerapis 'to do unimportant things', bongkar-bangkir 'to be in confusion', tjorat-tjarét 'to be streaked in every which way', porak-parik 'to be in confusion', kolang-kaling 'to go back and forth'.

(b) by u-a: kuas-kais 'to scratch about here and there' (kais 'to scratch'). Similar patterns also appear in the absence of a separately occurring morph: mundar-mandir 'to roam', kutjar-katjir 'to be in confusion.'

(c) by u-u: huru-hara 'to be in a tumult' (-hara); similarly without a separately occurring morph kelusuh-kelasah 'to be very nervous.'

(d) By a-a: gapah-gopoh 'very quick' (-gopoh).

3. With replacement of the next-to-last vowel: hura-hara 'to be in tumult' (-hara).

4. With replacement of last vowel and consonant by -ang: with a root in keriang-keriut 'to make sounds like that of rubbing bamboos (-keriut 'make the sound "kiut, kiut"); with intransitives in béngkang-béngkok 'to be full of bends (béngkok 'to be bent'), érang-érot 'to be full of twists' (képot 'twisted'), kérang-kéroh 'to twist

in all directions' (kéroh 'twisted'). A similar pattern appears in the absence of a separately occurring morph in tjeléngkang-tjeléngkok 'to be full of twists'.

b. Suffixal (-Dis).

1. With replacement of the initial consonant:

(a) By m: with substantives in tjoréng-moréng 'to be streaked with dirt in every which way' (tjoréng 'streak'), tjorét-morét 'to be streaked' (tjorét 'streak'), with a root in tjangkih-mangkih 'to stick up all over' (-tjangkih), and with an intransitive in kalut-malut 'to be very confused' (kalut 'to be confused).

(b) By b: with a transitive in tjerai-berai 'to be separated in many pieces' (ditjerai 'to be separated'). A similar pattern appears in the absence of a separately occurring morph in sara-bara 'to be in confusion.'

2. With replacement of the next-to-last vowel by a and the last vowel and consonant by ik: gopoh-gapik 'very quickly'

(-gopoh). A similar pattern in the absence of a separately occurring morph appears in kolang-kalik 'to go back and forth'.

3. With a non-recurrent element with a root in riuh-rendah 'to be very excited and noisy' (-riuh), gotong-rojong 'to cooperate' (-gotong 'to carry together'); with intransitives in hitam-legam, hitam-lotong 'pitch-black' (hitam 'black') and litjin-litjau, litjin-letjat 'very smooth, slippery' (litjin 'smooth, slippery'), érot-bénjot 'to twist in all direction (érot 'to twist, be twisted'), gelap-gulita 'to be pitch-dark ' (gelap 'dark'), terang-benderang 'to be very bright' (terang 'bright'), tur-renta 'very old' (tua 'old'), sabur-limur 'to be very hazy' (sabur 'hazy'), réméh-téméh 'very unimportant' (réméh 'unimportant'); with a substantive in simpang-siur 'to crisscross' (simpang 'a crossing').

625. Similar formations appear in the absence of separately occurring morphs: lintang-pukang, tunggang-langgang 'helter-skelter'.

Complex Transitives

626. The affixes which appear in complex transitives are of two types: (a) those which are part of the transitive inflection, (b) those which are in the transitive base.

627. The affixes which are part of the transitive inflection are di- 'passive' and meN- 'active': dibeli 'be bought', membeli 'buy'.

Affixes in Transitive Bases

628. The prefix peR-/p- 'transitivizer' appears with (a) intransitives and (b) a particle. The meanings are (a) 'causative', (b) 'simple'.

629. With intransitives the meaning is usually 'causative':

diperbagus 'to be made nice' (bagus 'nice, fine'), diperindah 'to be beautified' (indah 'beautiful'), dipertadjam 'to be sharpened' (tadjam 'sharp'). In one instance, the single instance in which the alternant p- occurs, the active of the transitive differs from the intransitive in marking the actor as the impulse: diperoléh 'to be acquired' (beroléh 'to receive').

630. With a particle in dipersilakan 'to be graciously invited' (silakan 'please, you have my permission').

631. The circumfix pe - + -kan 'transitivizer' appears with (a) substantivizers and verbs.

631. With nouns the meaning is 'apply the base' as in diperhatikan 'to be given attention' (hati 'heart, mind'), diperbandingkan 'to be compared' (banding 'a comparable, comparison') and (?) in dipergunakan 'to be made use of' (guna 'use').

633. With verbs the meaning is 'causative'. This has appeared in the single instance with an intransitive dipermenangkan 'to be made to win' (menang 'to win'). The meaning is 'causative-passive'

with the transitives: diperlihatkan 'be caused to be seen, be shown' (dilihat 'to be seen'), diperdengarkan 'to be made to be heard' (didengar 'to be heard').

634. ma- with a root in makan 'eat' (-kan, cf. penjanan 'delicacy' with peN- + -an, see 519).

635. The affix with the alternants -i ~ ke- + i ~ p- + -i appears with a variety of meanings: (a) 'frequently', (b) 'affecting large numerbs', (c) 'intensive', (d) 'affecting a place or the indirect goal as the direct goal', (e) 'transitivizer'. The various alternants are illustrated in dinaiki 'to be mounted' (naik 'to mount, go up'), dipeladjari 'to be studied' (beladjar 'to study'), diketahui 'to be known' (tahu 'to know').

636. In the meaning 'frequently' with a transitive: diambili 'to be often taken' (diambil 'be taken'), diangkati 'to be often lifted' (diangkat 'be lifted'), dilihati 'to be often looed at' (dilihat 'to be seen').

637. In the meaning 'affect large numbers' with a transitive: ditebangi 'to be chopped down [of a large number]' (ditebang 'be chopped down'),

ditangkapi 'to be arrested [of a large number]' (ditangkap 'to be arrested').

638. In the meaning 'intensive' with a transitive: dipandangi 'to be gazed at intently', dilihati 'to be looked at intently' (dilihat 'be seen'), dikenali 'be known well, be familiar' (dikenal 'be known, familiar'), direnungi 'be stared at intently' (direnung 'be stared at').

639. In the meaning 'place or indirect goal as direct goal' with transitives: disirami 'to be sprinkled [of a place]' (disiram 'be sprinkled [of water]'), ditanami 'be planted [of land]' (ditanam 'to be planted [of seed]'), dikirimi (literary) 'be the one to whom something is sent' (dikirim 'be sent').

640. The usual goal of diakui 'be admitted' is a substantive whereas that of diaku 'be admitted' is a clause'. [For some speakers diaku does not occur; for them mengakn 'admit' is simply an intransitive.]

641. In the meaning 'transitivizer' with (a) roots, (b) substantives, (c) intransitives, (d) transitives.

642. With a root: diarungi 'be traveled over [as water]' (mengarung 'to wade'), digenangi 'to be irrigated, watered' (bergenang

'to well up'), dilindungi 'to be protected' (berlindung 'to be sheltered'), dikitari 'to encircle, go around' (sekitar 'around'), didjumpai^{V} 'be met' (-djumpa 'meet'), ditemui 'be met' (-temu 'meet'), diresapi 'be steeped in' (-resap 'soak'), diselami 'be dived into' (-selam 'dive').

643. With a substantive the meaning is usually 'to act as the substantive or apply the substantive to the goal literally or figuratively. diwakili 'be represented' (wakil 'representative'), diwarisi 'be inherited' (waris 'heir'), dinamai 'be named' (nama 'name'), diairi 'be irrigated' (air 'water'), dikehendaki 'be desired' (kehendak 'desire'), dirasai 'be felt, tasted' (rasa 'taste'), dikepalai 'be headed' (kepala 'head'), dikuasai 'be controlled, ruled' (kuasa 'control'), dipengaruhi 'be influenced' (pengaruh 'influence'), diselimuti 'be blanketed' (selimut 'blanket'), disaputi 'be enveloped' (saput 'envelope'), dinaungi 'be shaded' (naung 'shade'), dilingkari 'be surrounded' (lingkar 'band'), dihadapi 'be faced' (hadap 'face, direction'), disinari 'be shone on, be lit up' (sinar 'ray').

644. With a few substantives meaning 'a relative location' the meaning is 'to reach that relative location relative to the goal': diseberangi 'be crossed' (seberang 'the other side'), diatasi 'be surmounted' (atas 'on, above'), didalami 'be penetrated' (dalam 'inside').

645. In a few instances the relation of meaning with the substantive is not found in other instances. In some instances the meaning bears a rather simple relation to an intransitive with the prefix ber-: dilajari 'be sailed over' (lajar 'sail', berlajar 'to sail'), ditempati 'be occupied' (bertempat 'to occupy'), dihargai 'be valued, appreciated' (harga 'price', berharga 'valuable'). In at least one instance even such a relation is not to be found: ditulangi 'be boned' (tulang 'bone').

646. With intransitives the resultant generally means 'apply the action or quality'.

647. Sometimes the meaning is simply 'causative': dibasahi 'be made wet' (basah 'wet'), dibaiki 'to correct, improve' (baik

'good'). Perhaps with this meaning in a figurative sense is to be associated that found in dipenuhi 'be fulfilled' (penuh 'full'), ditepati 'be carried out' (tepat 'exact').

648. If an intransitive is diabatic (and thus constructed with a goal, see 260 ff.), the transitive active of a derived transitive may be in competition with it: dipunjai 'be owned', mempunjai 'own' (punja 'to own, have'); diingini 'be desired, menginginі 'be desire' (ingin 'to desire'); dinaiki 'to be mounted', menaiki 'to mount, ascend' (naik 'to mount, go up'); diikuti 'to be followed', mengikuti 'to follow' (ikut 'to follow, accompany'); dimasuki 'be entered', memasuki 'to enter' (masuk 'to enter'); diléwati 'be passed by' meléwati 'to pass by' (léwat 'to pass by'); diketahui 'be known', mengetahui 'to know' (tahu 'know'); dikemaui 'be desired', mengemaui 'to desire' (mau 'want'). Sometimes there is a gross difference, as in dipeladjari 'be studied, be researched', mempeladjari 'to study, do research in' (beladjar 'to study [as a subject at school]').

649. In some instances the normal goal of the transitive appears in a prepositional construction with the transitive: dihormati 'be honored' (hormat 'respectful'), dipatuhi 'be obeyed' (patuh 'obedient'), diinsafi 'be realized' (insaf 'aware, conscious'), didatangi 'be arrived at' (datang 'to come'), didiami

'be dwelled in, inhabited' (diam 'to dwell in'), disetudjui 'be agree to' (setudju 'to agree'), dilebihi 'to be exceeded' (lebih 'more'). In a few instances difference of meaning is noticeable: didekati 'be approached' (dekat 'near'), diduduki 'be occupied' (duduk 'to sit'), ditumbuhi 'be overgown' (tumbuh 'to grow').

650. With transitives the meaning is grossly similar to that of the simple transitive: diliputi (diliput) 'be covered, overwhelmed', dikundjungi (dikundjung) 'be visited', dirintangi (dirintang) 'be blocked'.

651. The circumfix per- + -i 'causative' has appeared with an intransitive in diperbaiki 'be repaired' (baik 'good'), diperbarui 'be renovated' (baru 'new') and with a transitive in diperingati 'be commemorated' (diingat 'be remembered').

652. The affix -kan ~ p- + -kan appears with a variety of meanings: (a) 'in someone else's interest', (b) 'changed direction', (c) transitivizer'. The alternation appears in dipikirkan 'to be thought about' (pikir 'to think') and dipertjakapkan 'to be conversed about' (bertjakap 'to converse').

653. In the meaning 'in someone or something else's interest' with transitives: dibukakan 'to be opened for [someone]', ditjarikan 'to be sought for [someone]', ditu iskan 'to be written for [someone]'. This formation is quite free.

654. In the meaning 'changed direction' with transitives. Under this rubric are collected various meanings listed in 655-657, none of them productive except perhaps 'instrument'.

655. 'Reversal of direction': diséwakan 'to be rented out [by landlord]' (diséwa 'to be rented [by tenant]'), dipindjamkan 'to be lent' (dipindjam 'to be borrowed').

656. 'Instrument': dituliskan 'to be used to write with' (ditulis 'to be written'), dibajarkan 'to be used to pay with' (dibajar 'to be paid').

657. Miscellaneous: disebutkan 'to be mentioned, listed' (disebut 'to be called, pronounced'), didengarkan 'to be listened to' (didengar 'to be heard'), dituliskan 'to be noted down' (ditulis 'to be written'), ditundjukkan 'to be shown', (ditundjuk 'to be pointed at, out'), diikatkan 'to be fastened to [something]' (diikat 'to be tied up').

658. For speakers of Javanese and perhaps other languages (but not those of Sumatra), the usual noun goal of diberikan is 'the thing given', whereas that with diberi is 'the person to whom it is given'. For Sumatra speakers diberikan is not so limited, but makes explicit reference to the indirect goal (see 291).

659. In the meaning 'transitivizer' with (a) roots, (b) substantives, (c) intransitives, (d) transitives, (e) a particle.

660. Most commonly the root found with -kan also appears in a complex intransitive which in meaning differs from the transitive in much the same way as a simple intransitive differs from the complex form with -kan (see 667 ff.). The complex intransitive will be cited with each transitive: didirikan 'to be set up, erected' (berdiri 'to stand'), diharukan 'to be moved [emotionally]' (terharu 'to be moved'), dipantjarkan 'to be spurted forth' (berpantjar, memantjar 'to spurt'), diserahkan 'to be surrendered' (berserah, menjerah 'to surrender'), disingkirkan 'to be eliminated, removed' (menjingkir 'to evacuate, leave'), diandjurkan 'to be proposed'

(mengandjur 'to extend forward, project'), diresapkan 'to be absorbed' (meresap 'to penetrate, be absorbed').

661. In some instances the affix appears with a root in the literary language as in dibisikkan 'to be whispered' (berbisik 'to whisper') and dikumpulkan 'to be collected, assembled' (berkumpul 'to assemble'), but with an intransitive (see 528 f.) in the collogui-al as in the case of the intransitives bisik 'to whisper' and kumpul 'to assemble'.

662. With substantives the meaning is 'establish a relation between the goal and the base'.

663. In some instances the meaning is 'apply the base': dirasakan 'to be felt, tasted' (rasa 'feeling, taste'), diusahakan 'to be cultivated' (usaha 'effort'), dipahamkan 'to be comprehended' (paham 'understanding'), diangan-angankan 'to be imagined' (angan-angan 'imagination'), dilakukan 'to be done, committed' (laku 'act, behavior'), dikerdjakan 'to be done, to be worked on [as field]' (kerdja 'work'), dipikirkan 'to be thought about' (pikir 'thought, mind'), dibitjarakan 'to be discussed' (bitjara 'speech, speaking'), ditanjakan 'to be asked

about, to be questioned' (tanja 'questioning'). Since this meaning also appears with the suffix -i, near-synonymy results in some instances: dirasai 'to be felt, tasted', dipahami 'to be comprehended'.

664. In some instances the action is the base applied: disebabkan 'to be caused' (sebab 'cause'), dibuktikan 'to be proved' (bukti 'proof, evidence'), digantikan 'to be replaced' (ganti 'substitute').

665. In some instances the meaning is 'cause' [the goal] to be the base': dibelandjakan 'to be spent' (belandja 'expenditure'), digambarkan 'to be depicted, described' (gambar 'picture'), ditjeritakan 'to be related' (tjerita 'story'), dihasilkan 'to be produced' (hasil 'a product'), ditjita-tjitakan 'to be made into an ideal' (tjita-tjita 'ideal'), dibajangkan 'to be imagined' (bajang 'shadow, reflection'), disadjikan 'to be offered, served [as food], be brought up [as subject]' (sadji 'food that is served'), dikatakan 'to be said' (kata 'word'), dimimpikan 'to be dreamed about' (mimpi 'dream').

666. In some instances the meaning is 'cause to be possessed of the base': ditakdirkan 'to be destined' (takdir 'fate'), dirugikan 'to be injured' (rugi 'loss'), dinamakan 'to be named' (nama 'name'), diwudjudkan 'to be realized' (wudjud 'shape, form'), dikerutkan 'to be wrinkled' (kerut 'wrinkle'), didjalankan 'to be driven, operated' (djalan 'going'). With a slight difference in meaning: dihargakan 'to be appreciated' (harga 'price').

667. With intransitives the meaning is (a) 'causative', (b) 'about', (c) 'consider', (d) 'simple'.

668. The meaning 'causative' is most common: dipenuhkan 'to be filled' (penuh 'full'), didjatuhkan 'to be made to fall, be dropped' (djatuh 'fall'). In some instances there is an additional meaning: diadakan 'to be provided' (ada 'exist'). In some instances the intransitive is compound, as in didua hatikan 'to be made doubtful' (dua hati 'doubtful'), or complex as in diperhubungkan 'to be connected' (berhubung 'to be connected'), dipekerdjakan 'to be put to work' (bekerdja 'to work').

669. The same meaning appears in the combination of -kan with prepositional phrases consisting of ke- plus a local substantive: dikeluarkan 'to be spent, issued' (keluar 'to [go] out'), dikemukakan 'to be advanced, proposed' (kemuka 'to the fore'), dikebelakangkan 'to be withdrawn, put in the background' (kebelakang 'to be rear'), diketepikan 'to be put aside' (ketepi 'to the side').

670. The meaning 'about' appears with certain intransitives that involve an act of speech or the reporting of an internal event: dilupakan 'to be forgotten about' (lupa 'to forget'), diindahkan 'to be cared about' (indah 'to care'), dipertjakapkan 'to be conversed about' (bertjakap 'to converse'), diperbintjangkan 'to be discussed, considered' (berbintjang 'to discuss, consult'), diperkatakan 'to be discussed' (berkata 'to speak').

671. The meaning 'consider' appears with a few intransitives: sia-siakan 'to disregard, neglect' (sia-sia 'worthless, idle'), dipadakan 'to be considered sufficient' (pada 'sufficient'), ditjukupkan 'to be considered sufficient' (tjukup 'sufficient').

672. The meaning 'simple' covers those few instances in which the active of the transitive is in competition with the intransitive: diperlukan 'to be needed' (perlu 'necessary, need'), diinginkan 'to be desired' (ingin 'to disire').

673. In the colloquial dimainkan 'to be played' in relation to main 'to play [of person, instrument, drama, etc.]' is such a transitive as well as 'causative' (e.g. piano itu dimainkan 'that piano is being played'). In the standard in which bermain means 'to play [of person]', dimainkan is only causative.

674. The transitive dikenakan has a number of meanings. In the meaning 'to be hit [of mark]' its active competes with kena 'to be hit'. In the meaning 'to be laid [of a tax], applied [of medicine, wiles, etc.], be put on [of clothing]' the meaning is 'causative'.

675. With transitives the meanings are (a) 'causative', (b) 'simple'.

676. The meaning 'causative' appears in diindjakkan 'to set down to tread [of foot]' (diindjak 'to be trod on [of earth]'),

diakukan 'to be forced to admit' (diaku 'to be admitted'), diingatkan 'to be reminded' (diingat 'to be remembered').

677. The meaning 'simple' is said to occur if no gross difference appears between the simple and complex transitive: dihamburkan 'to be scattered' (dihambur 'to be scattered'), dikirimkan 'to be sent' (dikirim 'to be sent').

678. With the particle biar (see 325) 'let': dibiarkan 'to be allowed, permitted'.

Complex Quantifiers

679. The complex quantifiers are divided into (a) prefixes and (b) one suffix.

680. The prefix beR- appears with a numeral in beberapa 'several' and with a noun in berbagai 'various'. In berhelai 'several sheets' (?'several sheet-like') it may be that the beR- is best regarded as a word meaning 'there are several', or 'several'.

681. D- 'quantifier formant' with a quantifier appears in tiap-tiap

'every, each' and with a substantive in matjam-matjam 'various' (matjam 'kind').

682. D- 'explicity plurality' appears in berbagai-bagai 'various' (berbagai 'various).

683. The prefix ke- 'ordinal' appears with numerals: kedua 'second', keberapa 'how manieth?'.

684. The prefix ke- 'totalizer' appears with numerals: kedua 'both', ketiga 'all three', (?) keberapa 'all of how many?'.

685. The prefix pel- 'quantifier formant' appears with a substantive in pelbagai 'various'.

686. The prefix salah 'group pertaining' appears with the numeral se-: salah seorang 'some one of the [human]', salah satu 'one of the' (e.g. salah satu buku 'one of the books').

687. The prefix se- 'quantifier formant' appears with a root in segala 'all', with a quantifier in setiap 'every' (tiap 'every') and in sebarang 'just any' (barang 'some, no matter what'), with an intransitive in segenap 'all' (genap 'complete').

688. The suffix -Dnja appears with the numeral satu 'one' in satu-satunja 'the only, single'.

Complex Particles

689. The affixes that appear in complex particles are: (a) prefixes, (b) an infix, (c) suffixes, (d) a circumfix.

Prefixes

690. D- 'particle formant' appears with (a) roots, (b) particles, (c) intransitives, (d) transitives, (e) a substantive phrase.

691. With a root in kadang-kadang 'sometimes', moga-moga 'would that!'.

692. With particles in djangan-djangan 'I fear that, lest', kalau-kalau 'I fear that, lest'.

693. With intransitives, forming attributes of manner: hidup-hidup 'while alive' (hidup 'to be alive'), masak-masak 'thoroughly [of thinking]' (masak 'to be ripe'), lebih-lebih 'particularly, all the more so' (lebih 'to be in excess, more').

694. With a transitive: kira-kira 'approximately' (dikira 'be reckoned, considered').

695. With a numeral + partitive substantive phrase: sekali-sekali 'occasionally, once in a while' (sekali 'once').

696. D- 'affective' appears with some particles:

697. In the meaning 'intensive': hampir-hampir 'very nearly' (hampir 'nearly'), dulu-dulu 'long ago' (dulu 'in the past'), achir-achirnja 'at the very end' (achirnja 'finally'), rupa-rupanja 'very likely' (rupanja 'apparently, possibly'). So also in seénak-énaknja 'very much as he pleases' (seénaknja 'as he pleases'), semau-maunja 'very much as he pleases' (semaunja 'as he pleases').

698. In the meaning 'recurrent': sewaktu-waktu 'whenever' (sewaktu 'when').

699. D- 'at intervals' appears with a particle in sebentar-sebentar 'frequently, from time to time' (sebentar 'a while'), kapan-kapan 'whenever' (kapan 'when').

700. A prefix k- 'particle formant' appears in kini 'now' (ini 'this').

701. A prefix ter- 'particle formant' appears with a substantive in the preposition terhadap 'toward, against' (hadap 'face').

702. A prefix se- 'particle formant' appears with (a) particles, (b) substantives, (c) intransitives.

703. With particles se- appears in (a) conjunctions, (b) a close particle.

704. In conjunctions se- appears with the aspectual particles in sesudah, setelah 'after' (sudah, telah 'already'), and sebelum 'before' (belum 'not yet'), and with a conjunction in sehingga 'until, so that' (hingga 'until, so that').

705. It also appears in the close particle semakin 'proportionately, increasingly' (makin 'proportionately, increasingly').

706. With substantives se- appears in (a) prepositions, (b) conjunctions.

707. In prepositions it appears in sebagai 'as' (bagai 'kind'), setjara 'like' (tjara 'manner, kind'), selaku 'like' (laku 'behavior').

708. In a conjuction it appears in sewaktu 'when' (waktu 'time').

709. With intransitives it appears in (a) loose particles, (b) conjuctions, (c) prepositions.

710. In a loose particle it appears in selalu 'always' (lalu 'to go past').

711. In a conjuction it appears in selama 'while' (lama 'to be long'), sebagaimana 'as' (bagaimana 'how?').

712. In prepositions it appears in selain 'besides, outside of' (lain 'other'), sepandjang 'along'.

713. The prefix se- + D- 'particle formant' appears in seakan-akan, seolah-olah 'as it were', semata-mata 'entirely'.

714. An infix -em- appears in semendjak 'since' (sedjak 'since').

Suffixes

715. A suffix -an appears in the particle malahan 'even' (malah 'even').

716. A suffix -Dan appears in the particle mudah-mudahan 'would that!'.

717. A suffix -kan 'particle formant' appears with a particle in djangankan 'let alone' (djangan 'don't'), sampaikan 'until' (sampaj 'until'), bagaikan 'like' (bagai 'like').

718. A suffix -(ke- + D + -an) 'particle formant' appears in the particle lama-kelamaan 'finally after a gradual change'.

719. A suffix lah appears in hendaklah 'obligatorily' (hendak 'will'), barulah 'finally' (baru 'only then'), untunglah 'fortunately' (untung 'fortunate').

720. A suffix-nja 'loose particle formant' appears with (a) intransitives, (b) substantives (c) particles, (d) phrases.

721. With intransitives: biasanja 'usually' (biasa 'usual, ordinary'), lazimnja 'customarily' (lazim 'customary'), umumnja 'generally' (umum 'general, common'), anéhnja 'strangely' (anéh 'strange'), kelihatannja 'apparently' (kelihatan 'be visible'), maunja 'unfulfilled desire' (mau 'want'), mestinja 'unfulfilled obligation' (mesti 'must').

722. Occasionally it appears with a pair of intransitives: banjak-sedikitnja 'to some extent' (banjak 'much', sedikit 'few, a little').

723. With substantives rupanja 'apparently' (rupa 'form'), rasanja 'seemingly, apparently' (rasa 'taste, feeling'), achirnja 'in the end, finally' (achir 'end'), kesudahannja 'finally' (kesudahan 'outcome'), akibatnja 'finally' (akibat 'outcome, result').

724. With particles: sekadarnja 'essentially' (sekadar 'only'), mula-mulanja 'in the beginning' (mula-mula 'at first'), dulunja 'formerly [displaced]' (dulu 'in the past'), tadinja 'beforehand [displaced]' (tadi 'not long before'), bukannja 'not that...' (bukan 'not'), hendaknja 'kindly, please [in polite commands]' (hendak 'will').

725. With special phrases: with a jang-phrase, as in jang-anéhnja 'what's strange about it', and with a noun + particle phrase in achir kelaknja 'at the very end [of future]' (achir 'end', kelak 'future'); with phrases containing tidak, tak: tak sudahnja, tak sudah-sudahnja, tidak putus-putusnja, tidak habis-habisnja 'unendingly, continuously, continually'.

726. The suffix -D + -nja appears in the particles sedikit-dikitnja 'at least' (sedikit 'few, a little') and segala-galanja 'in every respect' (segala 'all').

Circumfixes

727. The circumfix se- + D- + nja 'as...as possible': sebanjak-banjaknja 'as big as possible'.

728. A different se- + D- + nja appears in seada-adanja 'pot-luck, depending on what there is' (ada 'exist').

729. The circumfix se- + -nja appears with intransitives: selamanja 'forever, always' (lama 'to take long'), sebetulnja, sebenarnja 'in fact' (betul, benar 'true'), sebaliknja 'on the other hand' (balik 'to go back'), sepatutnja 'properly' (patut 'proper'), semestinja 'obligatorily' (mesti 'obligatory, obliged'), seharusnja 'obligatorily [contrary to fact]' (harus 'is obligatory'), sepantasnja 'properly' (pantas 'proper'), seénaknja 'as one pleases' (ènak 'pleasing'), semaunja 'as one pleases' (mau 'want').

730. The circumfix me- + -kan in melainkan 'but rather' (lain 'is different, other').